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HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795

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BY

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WITH SIXTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1795 TO 1828, THE ZULU WARS OF DEVASTATION, AND THE FORMATION OF NEW BANTU COMMUNITIES

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The latest and most complete edition of this work consists of:—

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Volume IV contains a history of the Orange Free State, the South African Republic, Zululand, Basutoland, Betshuanaland, and Matabeleland from 1854 to 1872.

Volume V contains a history of the Cape Colony and Natal to 1872, Griqualand West to 1880, Great Namaqualand, Damaraland, Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East to 1885, Pondoland and the Portuguese Territory to 1894.

Each of these volumes is indexed and may be had separately from the others.

PREFACE.

THE preparation of a history of South Africa has occupied my almost undivided attention during the last forty years. I kept it constantly in view while connected in different capacities with Bantu tribes, and while keeper of the archives of the Cape Colony and subsequently I have made the closest possible research among official documents of all kinds. Of printed books upon the country I have one of the best collections in existence, and though I have not made many extracts from them, they have often served me as guides. To the utmost of human ability I have striven to write without fear, favour, or prejudice, to do equal justice to all with whom I had to deal. I can therefore, without laying myself open to the accusation of vanity, place my work confidently before the public as not alone the only detailed history of South Africa yet prepared, but as a true and absolutely unbiassed narrative.

GEORGE M. THEAL.

LONDON, *July* 1908.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

CHAPTER I.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE KEITH ELPHINSTONE AND GENERALS ALURED CLARKE AND JAMES HENRY CRAIG, CONJOINTLY, COMMANDERS OF THE BRITISH FORCES, 16TH SEPTEMBER TO 15TH NOVEMBER 1795.

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES HENRY CRAIG, COMMANDANT OF THE TOWN AND SETTLEMENT OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 15TH NOVEMBER 1795 TO 5TH MAY 1797.

ON the 16th of September 1795 the English troops took possession of Capetown, and as far as the government of the Dutch East India Company was concerned the colony was surrendered; but the people of the country districts were not disposed to acknowledge the new authorities. The greater number of the militia retired to their homes, declaring that they did not consider themselves bound by the capitulation of Commissioner Sluysken and the Council of Policy, and about a hundred of the Dutch artillery corps deserted and followed the burghers inland.

Under these circumstances every possible effort to soothe the colonists was made by the English commanders. The people of Capetown were treated in such a manner as to dispel their anxiety, and they were assured that they would presently be in the enjoyment of such liberty and good fortune as they had never known before. The government was carried on by Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig, acting conjointly. On the 1st of October the important office of secretary to government was provisionally bestowed upon Mr.

Hercules Ross. But many of the former civil servants who were willing to take an oath of fidelity to the new authorities were retained in employment. On the 10th of October the late secunde—Johan Isaac Rhenius—was offered and accepted the office of receiver and treasurer general, the late resident at Simonstown—Christoffel Brand—became collector of the tithes of grain and the wine tax, and another of the Dutch East India Company's old servants—Jan Pieter Baumgardt—was appointed collector of the land revenue. The fiscal—Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld—remained in office, and most of the clerks in the different departments were allowed to keep their situations.

The paper currency of the colony amounted to £258,255, and there was no metallic coin in circulation. To relieve anxiety concerning this matter, on the 1st of October the British commanders issued a proclamation fixing the rate of exchange at two hundred and sixty-four stivers in paper for a golden guinea, sixty stivers in paper for a Spanish silver dollar, and twelve stivers in paper for an English silver shilling. This proclamation was of great service in relieving the apprehensions of the colonists, though it was impossible to keep up the value of the paper by such means. Persons owing money in Europe, for instance, could not obtain bills of exchange under twenty to thirty per cent premium, and in common dealings three shillings in silver would purchase as much as a paper rixdollar. Copper coin that was paid to the troops was eagerly sought by shopkeepers, and penny pieces passed current as equal to two stivers, instead of only one. A few years later—in 1800—this value was put upon them by law to prevent their immediate exportation, and to this day they are often called by the coloured people dubbeltjes, a name they then acquired. For the time, however, the attempt of the British commanders to place the paper money on a par with metal had the desired effect of doing much towards conciliating the colonists.

Another popular proclamation was issued on the 30th of October, relative to auction sales. From the proceeds of the

sale the auctioneer was to deduct three and a half per cent for the government and one and a half per cent for himself on movable property, and one and three-fourths per cent for the government and three-fourths per cent for himself on fixed property. Purchasers of goods under the value of £20 at any sale were relieved of the payment of stamp duty on their accounts as made out from the vendue rolls.

The committee of the high court of justice ceased to exist, but in its stead a much more popular board, termed the burgher senate, was created. This board consisted of six members, the senior of whom was president. Vacancies were filled by the head of the government from a fourfold list of names furnished by the board itself. The members were not by virtue of their office judges in the high court of justice, though any of them could be appointed judges without resigning their seats in the senate. The duties of the burgher senate were to represent to the government matters affecting the colonists, to keep the roads in order, to provide watchmen for the town, to propose to the head of the government the best method of levying taxes for these purposes, to farm out the public windmills, to regulate the prices of bread and meat, to fix tradesmen's wages, &c., &c., in short to perform all the duties—except judicial—of the burgher councillors and the commissioners of the high court of justice in former times. The creation of this board was announced soon after the capitulation, but the arrangements for its establishment could not be completed before the end of January 1796.

These measures had equally good effects in Stellenbosch as in Capetown. Landdrost Bletterman, however, expressed a wish to retire from service, assigning as a reason that he was getting old and was not in good health. His resignation was accepted, and on the 7th of November he was succeeded by Mr. Ryno Johannes van der Riet, a staunch adherent of the Orange party. In the district no opposition was made to the new authorities.

Swellendam also was induced to submit without a struggle. Fieldcornet Daniel du Plessis was made much of by the

British officers, and was quite won over for the time. Two days after the capitulation, when he desired to return home, a document was given to him, with the request that he would make its contents known to every one whom he should meet. It announced that the first wish of the British commanders was to adopt every measure which might appear proper to promote the prosperity of the settlement and the happiness of the inhabitants; that the monopolies and oppressions practised for the benefit of the India Company were at an end; that internal trade was free from that day; that every man might buy of whom he pleased, sell to whom he pleased, employ whom he pleased, and come and go where he chose by land or water; that no new taxes should be levied, but those then existing which were found after consideration to be burdensome to the people should be abolished; and that the paper money was to retain its value, but that the British would make their payments in hard coin. The inhabitants of the country districts were invited to send their cattle and farm produce to Capetown for sale in any way that suited them, and were promised that if they desired explanation upon any subject the British commanders would give it to such persons as they might delegate for the purpose.

Du Plessis was further informed that Mr. Faure would be sent back as landdrost, and that the past acts of the nationals would be buried in oblivion if they would submit to the British authorities. This mode of proceeding had the desired effect. Mr. Faure called a special meeting of the heemraden for the 4th of November, and invited the members of the national assembly to be present. The heemraden Hillegard Mulder, Pieter Pienaar, Pieter du Pré, and Hermanus Steyn—the last named the landdrost under the nationals,—and the members of the national assembly, Jacobus Steyn, Ernst du Toit, and Anthonie van Vollenhoven, attended. Mr. Faure read the instructions which he had received, when all who were present gave in their submission, and took the oath required by the British commanders. Mr. Steyn transferred the drostdy, and thereafter took his seat with the heemraden.

A few months later a man of marked ability, named Andries Stockenstrom, was appointed secretary of the district of Swellendam. He was by birth a Swede, but had entered the Dutch East India Company's service, and in 1786 became a clerk in an office in Capetown. The great difference between the ideas of those days and our own is exemplified by this man—who in later years was known as a philanthropist—having been for some time employed as the supercargo of a vessel engaged in transporting slaves from Madagascar to the Cape. It was he who purchased the negroes, and collected them together for embarkation. But only a century ago it was regarded rather as a meritorious than as a sinful act to remove savages to a country where they would be within the influence of Christianity. Stockenstrom was next appointed bookkeeper of the naval establishment, and performed the duties of that office until the surrender of the colony. In March 1796 he was selected by General Craig to fill the post of secretary of Swellendam.

The oath which was required to be taken by all the officials and generally by the burghers of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam districts was the following: "I swear to be true and faithful to his Majesty George the third, by God's grace king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., for so long a time as his Majesty shall remain in possession of this colony."

On the 30th of September Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke issued a proclamation in which they announced that they had appointed Major-General James Henry Craig commandant of the town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and that he had their authority to arrange and dispose of all matters civil or military relating to the colony. The government, however, was conducted by the three officers conjointly until the 15th of November, when Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke sailed with the greater part of the fleet for India.

To protect the colony the whole military force that had been employed in the conquest, except the East India Com-

pany's troops, was left under General Craig's command. It consisted of two thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight men. Commodore Blankett was also left at the Cape with the *America*, *Ruby*, *Princess*—previously the *Willemstadt and Boetzelaar*,—and the *Star*, previously the property of the Dutch East India Company.

The Dutch signals had to this time been kept flying on the Lion's rump, and on the 19th of October the packet *Maria Louisa*, that had left Batavia on the 29th of August, deceived by them, ran into Table Bay. On finding the port in possession of the English she tried to escape, but was chased by the *Rattlesnake*, and was captured about twenty miles outside. From the despatches which she carried the admiral obtained full information of the state of affairs in the Indian possessions of the Dutch.

The people of Graaff-Reinet had not yet submitted, but on the 29th of October a letter explaining their conduct was written by the leaders of the nationals to the British commanders, which led to the belief that they were ready to come to terms. General Craig sent them a friendly but firm reply, overlooking their past conduct, and approving of Mr. Gerotz acting as landdrost until a gentleman whom he had selected for the post could take over the duty. This gentleman was a colonist named Frans Reinhard Bresler, who had been an officer in De Lille's regiment, and who was a staunch adherent of the Orange party. His instructions were to conciliate the farmers. "They would be required to obey him as a father, but he was to act as such, to study their welfare, to represent what means would ameliorate their condition, and to protect them against their enemies. If he should find that the Bushmen, grown bold through want of proper exertions to stem their progress, had become formidable, and that he required powder and ball for the parties he might find proper to send on commando, he needed only to say so to be immediately supplied from the government stores."

On the 9th of February 1796 Mr. Bresler arrived at the village of Graaff-Reinet. He was accompanied by the reverend

Mr. Von Manger, who had retired to Capetown some time before. On his journey he met a party of seventeen farmers, who made no objection to take the oath of fidelity, and he sent out a commando, under Matthys de Beer, against Bushman marauders. Upon reaching the village, the national landdrost Gerotz gave him quarters in the drostdy. But he was not permitted to enter the court-room, and was informed that the landdrost, the secretary, and the minor officials had been instructed by the representatives of the people to retain their posts and to allow no one else access to the records until after a meeting which was to be held on the 22nd.

On the day appointed the heemraden Jan Booysen, David van der Merwe, Schalk Burger, and Andries van der Walt were present, as were also the militia officers Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Andries Burger, Andries Smit, David van der Merwe, junior, and Pieter Kruger. At a separate table sat the representatives of the people: Hendrik Krugel, Jan Durand, Christoffel Lotter, and Jacob Kruger. A messenger was sent to invite Mr. Bresler to appear and inform the assembly for what purpose he had visited Graaff-Reinet. He did as desired, and, after reading his commission, added that he would convene a meeting of the heemraden that afternoon and preside in it. He was asked if the representatives of the people would be admitted, and replied that he could not acknowledge them.

At two in the afternoon Mr. Bresler caused the drostdy bell to be rung, and directed one of his servants to hoist the English flag on the staff. A few minutes later a number of excited people crowded about him, and one of them—Jacobus Joubert—ordered him to have the flag lowered at once. He refused to comply. Joubert, Jan Groning, and Jan Kruger then hauled the flag down. Amid uproar, Mr. Bresler demanded to know whether they would acknowledge the king of England as their sovereign, Major-General Craig as their governor, and himself as their landdrost, also whether they would take the oath of fidelity. Not one was willing to do so. Mr. Bresler was informed that they had elected Marthinus Prinsloo, of the Boschberg, to be

"protector of the voice of the people," and that they had instructions from him which they would obey. The district secretary, Samuel Oertel, was directed to read the letter of instructions. It forbade the taking an oath of allegiance to the king of England, and announced that another meeting would be held on the 22nd of March to settle matters finally.

Mr. Bresler remained to learn the result of this meeting. The day before it was to take place, a man named Jan Pieter Woyer returned to the village from a tour he had just made through the district. Woyer, who had studied medicine in Europe and was generally well informed, had not been long in South Africa, but had filled the post of district surgeon of Graaff-Reinet since December 1794, and had thus an opportunity of acquiring influence. He was a warm upholder of French principles, and hated England to a corresponding extent. At this time he was doing all he could to induce the farmers not to submit to the British authorities. Mr. Bresler had found the landdrost Gerotz and the secretary Oertel men of sound sense and moderate opinions, so that he hoped to be able to convince them of the uselessness of resistance; but when Woyer appeared, he recognised at once that his cause was hopeless.

On the 22nd of March there was a large gathering at the drostdy. The heemraden, militia officers, and representatives of the people took their seats in the courtroom, and a son of Adriaan van Jaarsveld was then sent to call Mr. Bresler. There was a crowd outside the building, and upon Mr. Bresler's making his appearance, Marthinus Prinsloo ordered silence to be kept that they might hear what he had to say. He commenced to read some proclamations issued by General Craig, but was interrupted by Carel Triegard and others. At length Adriaan van Jaarsveld stated that they intended to retain their own government, and would only agree to terms which he wished to be taken down in writing. These were:

1. That the people of Graaff-Reinet were willing to take to Capetown for sale such articles as their land produced, according to the ancient custom.

2. That they would observe all reasonable orders and laws,

provided the English governor would supply them with powder, lead, clothing, and such other articles as they needed.

Hendrik Krugel dictated two additional articles:

3. That the people of Graaff-Reinet would not draw the sword against the English.

4. That their only reason for refusing to take the oath required was that when the states-general of the Netherlands should retake the country they would not be able to justify themselves if they did so.

These articles were confirmed by all present, and the crowd outside then dispersed. Next morning Van Jaarsveld and some others proposed to the reverend Mr. Von Manger that he should remain under their government, but he declined, on the ground that he had taken an oath of fidelity to the king of England. On the 25th he and Mr. Bresler left the drostdy to return to Capetown.

On hearing of these proceedings, General Craig sent Major King with three hundred men of the eighty-fourth regiment to Stellenbosch, to be in readiness to move forward at short notice. Supplies of ammunition and goods of all kinds were cut off from the district of Graaff-Reinet. A corps of Hottentots was raised for service in the interior. They were enlisted for a year, were provided with arms, clothing, and rations, and each man received sixpence a week in money.

Meantime dissension appeared among the people of Graaff-Reinet. The farmers of the fieldcornetcies of Zwartkops River, the Zuurveld, and Bruintjes Hoogte remained faithful to the government they had established, but the others were beginning to argue that it would be better to submit to the English than to be deprived of ammunition and of a market to buy and sell in. Woyer, for whose apprehension the government was striving, suddenly disappeared, and another who had been very active in encouraging resistance—Hubert Dirk Campagne—was arrested when on a visit to Capetown, and was sent to England to be dealt with there.

Just at this time an event took place which disheartened the great majority of the patriot party in the colony. This

was the surrender to the British forces in South Africa of a Dutch fleet of war, and the consequent destruction of their hope of assistance from the Batavian Republic.

One of the first acts of the new government of the Netherlands was to fit out a number of ships to convey reinforcements to the Indian islands, for the purpose of protecting them against the British and of bringing the administrations there into harmony with the order of things established by the revolution in the mother country. The ships selected with this object were the *Dordrecht*, of sixty-four guns, to carry the admiral's flag, the *Revolutie*, of sixty-four guns, Captain Jan Rynbende, the *Maarten Harpertzoon Tromp*, of fifty-four guns, Lieutenant Jan Valkenburg, the *Castor*, of forty-four guns, Captain Jacob Claris, the *Braave*, of forty-two guns, Lieutenant Jacob Zoetemans, the *Sirene*, of twenty-six guns, Lieutenant Christiaan de Cerf, the *Bellona*, of twenty-four guns, Lieutenant Gustaaf Adolf de Falck, the *Havik*, of eighteen guns, Lieutenant Pieter Bessemer, and the *Vrouw Maria*, an Indiaman armed with sixteen guns, to be used as a victualler, commanded by Lieutenant Hermanus Barbier.

On board this fleet were embarked altogether, including soldiers, nineteen hundred and seventy-two men; but they were hastily got together, and a very large proportion of them were at heart more attached to the Orange than to the patriot faction. The ships were generally well equipped, though as it was difficult to obtain a sufficient number of cannon, they were twelve short of their full complement of heavy guns.

As commander in chief, with the title of rear admiral, an old sea captain named Engelbertus Lucas was selected. His only qualifications for the post were that he had once made a voyage to India and that in 1795 he had been a member of a commission appointed to inspect and report upon the condition of the ships of war and everything connected with them. But he was a zealous partisan of the patriot cause, and on that account was placed in a position which needed skill and judgment such as he did not possess.

Intelligence of the surrender of the colony to the British forces

reached the Netherlands before this fleet sailed, but no fresh instructions were given to Admiral Lucas, who was left to act entirely upon his own discretion. It was indeed understood that he would be joined near the Cape by a French squadron consisting of *La Forte*, of fifty guns, *La Vertu* and *La Seine*, each of forty guns, and *La Rejenerée*, of thirty-six guns, which were being fitted out at Rochefort at the same time; but there was no settled plan of action or place of meeting: all was left to chance. The Dutch fleet sailed from Texel on the 23rd of February 1796, in company with a squadron bound to the West Indies for a similar purpose. The course pursued was north of Scotland and west of Ireland, in order to avoid the danger of meeting an enemy in the Channel. About a fortnight later the French squadron sailed from Rochefort.

The British government was acquainted with the object of these expeditions, and lost no time in sending out strong reinforcements of ships and soldiers. On the 23rd of April a fast sailing frigate bound to India put into Table Bay with despatches for General Craig, in which he was informed that a hostile armament was to be looked for, and that troops were on the way to his assistance.

On the 28th of May the *Sceptre*, of sixty-four guns, and the *Crescent*, of thirty-six, arrived with a number of transports having on board the first battalion of the seventy-eighth regiment and some artillerymen to reinforce the garrison. A number of artillerymen arrived about the same time from Madras, having been replaced there by others in the East India Company's service. The *Sceptre* and the *Crescent* were to remain on the Cape station. On the 21st of July the *Tremendous*, of seventy-four guns, and the *Jupiter*, of fifty, arrived, also with a convoy of transports conveying the eightieth regiment of infantry and the twenty-eighth light dragoons for service at the Cape and some other troops for India. The two men-of-war were to remain at the Cape. On the 2nd of August the *Trident*, of sixty-four guns, arrived with a convoy on the way to India. The troops that thus happened to be at the Cape in the first week of August, exclusive of the garrison,

were five companies of the nineteenth, the thirty-third regiment of infantry, and the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh light dragoons.

In addition to this very imposing force Admiral Elphinstone had arrived from Madras on the 23rd of May with the *Monarch* and the *Sphinx*, and had resumed command of the fleet. The *Stately*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Echo*, forming part of the force he had taken with him to India, arrived somewhat later from a cruise off Mauritius. The admiral had purchased a damaged American vessel in Simon's Bay, had repaired her, armed her with sixteen guns, and put her in commission as his Majesty's brig of war *Euphrosyne*. And on the 21st of July the frigate *Moselle* arrived. She was proceeding from the Mediterranean to the West Indies when she caught sight of the Dutch fleet steering southward, and Captain Brisbane, her commander, considered it his duty to hasten to the Cape with the intelligence.

The French squadron made a rapid passage. On the 26th of May it nearly succeeded in capturing the *Sphinx* a little to the eastward of False Cape, and retook a prize that ship was bringing into Simon's Bay. On the 15th of May the English whaler *Lord Hawkesbury* was captured, a few men were put on board, and the prizemaster was directed to proceed to Mauritius. But eleven days later, as she was close to the coast near Zoetendal's Vlei, an English sailor who was at the helm ran her ashore. All on board got safely to land, and from the prizemaster, who was made a prisoner, it was learned that the admiral commanding the squadron intended to proceed to Mauritius. He might cruize off the coast for a time to pick up prizes, but he was not disposed to wait long for the Dutch fleet, nor did he ever make an effort to form a junction with it.

Admiral Lucas arrived at Grand Canary on the 13th of April. The preceding day he had allowed the *Moselle* to come almost within gunshot without any attempt to pursue her, and while at anchor here the *Jupiter* with the transports passed within sight, as did the *Tremendous* eleven days later, without

his trying to capture them. At this place disturbances occurred on board the *Dordrecht*, *Revolutie*, and *Castor*. The cry *Oranje boven, weg met de patriotten!* was raised, and echoed through these ships, but the disaffected party was appeased, and on the 17th of May the fleet again set sail.

At Porto Praya, the next place of call, the admiral learned that the *Sceptre* and *Crescent* with a reinforcement of troops for the Cape garrison had been there six weeks before, still, without taking in sufficient water to last to Mauritius, he continued his voyage.

On the 6th of August he anchored in Saldanha Bay, in the belief that the colonists would at once rise and assist him. The lieutenants De Cerf, Zoetemans, and Valkenburg landed without delay to procure information and give notice of his arrival, and during their absence the sick were landed on Schapen Island, where tents were pitched for their accommodation. Many of the sails also were unbent to be repaired, and it was with difficulty that Captain Melvill, of the flag ship, induced the admiral to order others to be substituted. The *Havik* was stationed at Hoetjes Bay to protect the landing place, where water was being taken in, and the *Bellona* was moored off Langbaan on the eastern shore for the same purpose.

Lieutenant Valkenburg was married to the daughter of a Cape farmer. He made his way to his father-in-law's house some fifteen or sixteen miles from Saldanha Bay, where he learned particulars of the British forces, and that under the circumstances no assistance could possibly be given by the colonists. From another source the same information was obtained, coupled with strong advice to leave the bay as soon as possible. The men were deserting at every opportunity. In one night no fewer than thirty got away, and on this account it was not safe to send parties ashore. The admiral therefore decided to set sail for Mauritius on the 16th, but it was then too late.

During the night of the 3rd an express arrived at Capetown from Saldanha Bay, with information that the Dutch fleet so

long expected was off that harbour. General Craig forwarded the intelligence to Admiral Elphinstone in Simonstown, who at once put to sea with the object of intercepting the hostile ships off the Cape of Good Hope, as it was not supposed they would attempt to enter any port west of Agulhas. Lieutenant M^c^Nab, of the ninety-eighth regiment, was sent with twenty mounted men to the coast below Saldanha Bay to watch their movements. On the 6th he reported that they had anchored in the bay that morning.

On the 7th a proclamation was issued by General Craig, ordering all persons living within thirty miles of Saldanha Bay to drive their cattle inland, and announcing that any one found communicating with or endeavouring to join the Dutch fleet, or supplying the Dutch forces with provisions, cattle, horses, or assistance of any kind whatever, would be punished with immediate death.

The troops destined for India were landed from the transports in Simon's Bay, and every exertion was made to mount the dragoons. All the saddle horses in the town and neighbourhood were required to be brought in by their owners, but were paid for on a valuation made by two dragoon officers and two members of the court of justice. Waggons for transport were also pressed into service, but without being purchased. One owner of a waggon—a wealthy resident in Capetown—declined to supply it on the demand of the commissariat officer. General Craig promptly warned others, by quartering a sergeant and ten soldiers upon him.

Leaving nearly four thousand soldiers in the Cape peninsula under command of Major-General Doyle, General Craig marched to Saldanha Bay to prevent the Dutch troops from landing, and arrived on its eastern shore in the morning of the 16th of August with a well-equipped force of two thousand five hundred men and eleven field guns. The *Bellona* fired on the British troops as they approached, but without any effect, and she was obliged to retire by some shells that she received in return.

Meantime Admiral Elphinstone, having encountered very stormy weather, had returned to Simon's Bay on the 12th, and

learned there that the Dutch fleet was in Saldanha Bay. The weather was so boisterous that he could not put to sea again until the 15th, but next evening he cast anchor within gunshot of the Dutch ships. As the troops under General Craig approached on one side, they saw the English fleet drawing in on the other. It consisted of eight ships of the line, three frigates, two sloops of war, and one brig.

As soon as the anchors were down, Admiral Elphinstone sent a letter to the Dutch commander in chief, demanding surrender without shedding blood, as resistance to his overwhelming force must be useless. He received a verbal reply that a decided answer would be given next morning. Upon this he required an assurance that no damage would be done to the ships, and received a written promise to that effect from Admiral Lucas.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 17th Captain Claris was sent on board the flagship *Monarch* with a draft of terms of surrender, but the British admiral would grant no other conditions than the retention of private property by every one and permission for the officers to return to the Netherlands upon pledging their word of honour not to serve against Great Britain until exchanged or until the conclusion of peace. The fleet with everything that belonged to it must be surrendered intact. At five in the evening Lieutenant Valkenburg brought to the *Monarch* articles to this effect signed by the Dutch admiral, and requested that possession should at once be taken of the *Dordrecht*, *Revolutie*, and *Castor*, as discipline had ceased on board those ships. The crews were trampling on the new national flag, amid shouts of *Oranje boven, de dood aan de patriotten!* and the officers were being insulted and abused. These ships were accordingly taken in possession at once, and the remainder of the fleet on the following morning.

Most of the soldiers on board were found to be Germans, who asserted that they had been prisoners to the French and had been compelled to take service under the Batavian Republic. They were very willing to change sides, and the transports that soon afterwards sailed to India took most of

them away in English uniforms. A considerable number of the seamen also offered to enter the English service, and were gladly taken over. The British officers, indeed, congratulated themselves on having secured not only a number of excellent ships, but a fine body of recruits both for the army and the navy.

Before the close of the year most of the Dutch officers were sent to the Netherlands in a cartel ship, and the others returned in a neutral vessel. A court was constituted for their trial, but on the 21st of June 1797, before a decision was given, Admiral Lucas died of illness caused mainly by mortification and anxiety. The other officers were absolved from blame.

This event disheartened the patriot party in the colony, and the large naval and military force that was present overawed even the farmers of the distant eastern frontier. On the 22nd of August there was a public meeting at the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, attended, however, by no one from Zwartkops River, the Zuurveld, or Bruintjes Hoogte, except Adriaan van Jaarsveld. The landdrost Gerotz and the secretary Oertel exerted themselves to bring about submission to the authorities at the Cape, with the result that a document was signed by all the people of note present—including Van Jaarsveld—in which they promised fidelity to the English government. Two deputies—Pieter Ernst Kruger and Christiaan Rudolph Opperman—were sent to Capetown with it.

The deputies reached their destination on the 8th of September. Two days earlier Major King had left Groenekloof —where a considerable military force was stationed by General Craig on his return from Saldanha Bay—with two hundred dragoons, five companies of light infantry, one hundred and fifty pandours, and three field guns, to endeavour to restore order in the country beyond Swellendam. An express was sent to recall this expedition, and overtook it at Roodezand. General Craig empowered Mr. Gerotz to act as landdrost and Mr. Oertel as secretary until further instructions, promised that the past should be forgotten, and issued a general amnesty from which only Woyer was excluded.

The inhabitants of the wards Bruintjes Hoogte, Zuurveld,

and Zwartkops River, however, did not regard themselves as included in this submission. In June, on Marthinus Prinsloo's summons, a meeting had been held at the Boschberg to discuss the question of their surrender, when the decision was adverse. They had even used wild language about marching to Swellendam, expelling the landdrost of that district, and restoring the national assembly there. But since the surrender of the Dutch fleet they had been reflecting, and at length they came to a resolution to send delegates to Capetown to proffer submission and to endeavour to obtain certain concessions.

The burghers Willem Prinsloo, junior, and Frans Labuschagne accordingly brought to General Craig a letter dated the 12th of November and signed by thirty-one persons, which professed to explain the wishes of the farmers of Bruintjes Hoogte and the Zuurveld. They desired the approval of the government to their entering the Xosa country for the purpose of recovering cattle that had been stolen from them, requested permission to occupy land along the Koonap and Kat rivers, objected to the appointment of Mr. Bresler as landdrost and asked that some one possessing greater sympathy with the farmers should be sent in his stead, suggested an alteration in the constitution of the board of heemraden which would make it elective, and hoped that a proclamation would be issued to secure them from being forced to serve in either the British army or navy.

General Craig replied in writing on the 31st of December. He informed them that they became subjects of the king of England by the capitulation of the Dutch government, and could not expect special terms. He strictly ordered them not to make war upon the Xosas to recover their cattle, or to occupy land beyond the boundary; and advised them to treat the Xosas with all possible kindness. He could not allow them to dictate the nomination of a landdrost. No alteration in the form of government of the district could be made, and the heemraden would be appointed as of old. He advised them to abandon the absurd idea of an independent government, and warned them against further opposition.

The deputies hereupon declared that they were willing to submit; and with this the matter ended for a time. Mr. Gerotz remained as acting landdrost, and administered justice in the name of the king of England, without any open opposition, though without any strong hold upon the people. The national party was by no means extinct, but recognised the uselessness under existing circumstances of attempting to set the British authorities at defiance. Many of them hoped that aid from abroad would shortly reach them, for Woyer had been confident of French assistance and had gone to procure it.

A Danish ship that put into Algoa Bay gave him an opportunity to leave South Africa, and embarking in her, he reached Batavia safely. To the governor-general Van Overstraten he communicated the condition of things in Graaff-Reinet, and persuaded him to believe that only a supply of ammunition was needed to ensure a formidable opposition to the English. After remaining eight days in Batavia, Woyer left in a French ship bound to Mauritius, and nothing more is related of him in the colonial records until October 1802. He was then a military lieutenant in the Dutch service, and had gone to the United States with a view of getting a passage to Java in an American ship. The government at the Cape was warned that he intended, if possible, to touch at South Africa, and it would be necessary to watch his movements closely.

Mr. Van Overstraten resolved to send all the aid that was in his power. Not a soldier could be spared, but there was plenty of ammunition in the magazines, and a smart-sailing brig named the *Haasje* was at anchor in the roads awaiting orders. In her the governor-general shipped thirty-six thousand pounds of gunpowder, eight pieces of field artillery, fifty bales of clothing material, and as much sugar and coffee as would complete her lading. With a crew of twenty Europeans and twenty-four Malays she sailed from Batavia on the 19th of February 1797, no one but the governor-general and her skipper knowing her destination. The crew believed they were bound to Ternate, and so much secrecy was observed that a pilot who was engaged to conduct the brig through the

strait of Bali was not set ashore lest he should make the true course known. The skipper of the *Haasje* was a half-caste Javanese named Jan de Freyn, a natural son of a Dutch officer of rank.

The destination of the *Haasje* was Algoa Bay, but on approaching the African coast a violent storm was encountered, in which she sprang a leak and was otherwise so much damaged that Skipper De Freyn resolved to put into Delagoa Bay to refit. He cast anchor there on the 3rd of May, and found that nothing was to be had except from his own resources.

The Portuguese fort at Lourenço Marques had been destroyed by two French frigates in October 1796. The captain and garrison of eighty soldiers were obliged to retire into the back country, and they were then living in great discomfort and anxiously waiting for a vessel to come and take them away. There was a whaling ship named the *Hope*, with a crew of twenty-four men, lying at anchor, and flying the American flag. With the officers of this ship De Freyn opened a friendly intercourse, and after a short acquaintance he informed them that he intended to try to communicate with the farmers of Graaff-Reinet from Delagoa Bay, but if he could not do so he would proceed to Algoa Bay as soon as his vessel was repaired and he had taken in wood and water. This divulging of his business was fatal to his mission, for the *Hope* was really an English ship, and was only flying the American flag as a ruse.

The *Haasje* went some distance up a river, to the territory of a chief named Kapela, where her cargo was landed, and she was then hove down to be repaired. On his arrival Skipper De Freyn engaged a black man to go inland with a letter addressed to the farmers of Graaff-Reinet, and while his vessel was being repaired he set out in person to try to make his way to them, but after three days' travel was obliged by the attitude of the natives to return.

A day or two later a Portuguese vessel arrived in Delagoa Bay to remove the distressed people. From her the master of

the *Hope* got assistance in men and guns,* and then proceeded up the river to attack the Dutch. The *Haasje* was so far ready for sea that she was afloat in the river with six pieces of artillery in her hold, when a native brought a report that the English were approaching with hostile intentions. De Freyn at once sank his vessel, and prepared for defence on shore, where all the cargo—except the six guns—was stacked up and covered with sails. On the 28th of May the English and Portuguese attacked him, but a party of Kapela's followers came to his aid, and enabled him to resist for some time. In the end, however, he was beaten, and the English got possession of the two fieldpieces which were on shore and twenty-two thousand eight hundred pounds of gunpowder. The remainder of the cargo was plundered and carried away by the natives while the skirmishing was going on.

The *Haasje* was got afloat again, and Alexander Dixon, chief officer of the *Hope*, with a prize crew of five men, brought her to Simon's Bay, where she arrived on the 11th of August. De Freyn and some others were left behind.† After vainly trying a second time to make his way to Graaff-Reinet, the skipper and his companions returned to Lourenço Marques, and obtained passages to Table Bay in some whalers that put in shortly afterwards.

On his arrival at Capetown De Freyn entered a protest against the seizure of the *Haasje* by the crew of a vessel not provided with letters of marque, and in a neutral port belonging to a sovereign who was not at war with the Batavian

* De Freyn, in a deposition made in Capetown on the 18th of October before the attorney Willem Kolver, says eight fieldpieces and fifty soldiers under a Portuguese officer. Alexander Dixon, mate of the *Hope*, in his official report, says ten men with a supply of ammunition and four guns. The only other document in the Cape archives from an actor and eye-witness—a deposition of Frans Nicholas Peterson, a Dane who was chief officer of the *Haasje*—does not settle the question.

† De Freyn, in his deposition, says that the English and Portuguese refused to make prisoners of the pilot Willem Sluyter, a mate named De Moor, and himself; but abandoned them and some Indian seamen in the Kaffir country. Alexander Dixon, in his report, states that the master of the Dutch brig and two of the mates escaped inland.

Republic. But his protest was of no avail. He was arrested and sent to England, where he remained in confinement as a prisoner of war until March 1800, when he was exchanged.

General Craig did his utmost to place English rule before the colonists in as favourable a light as possible. As a conqueror he could not be loved, but as a man he was highly respected. His government was just without being severe, and though the system was retained of civil servants deriving the larger part of their incomes from fees,* bribery and corruption were not tolerated. Much of his attention was occupied with strengthening old fortifications and constructing new ones. Some blockhouses which he caused to be built on the slope of the Devil's peak are still in existence, and a tower near the mouth of Salt River, which was called by his name, remained standing until 1888, when it was broken down, and a large earthen fort was built upon its site.

In one matter only he made a great mistake. When the colony was surrendered there were over thirty-six thousand muids of wheat in the magazines, and the crops which were gathered a few months later were the best known for many years. Against the advice of men of experience in South Africa, General Craig sent a large quantity of the prize wheat to England, and maintained that the demand created by the troops and naval forces would be met by increased production. But the harvest of the summer of 1796–7 was a very poor one, and famine was barely averted by sending in haste to India for wheat and rice and to Europe for flour at any cost. It was necessary to adopt very stringent measures to obtain bread for the troops, and a farmer who was at all dilatory in furnishing grain, if he had any, might make sure of soldiers being quartered upon him.

During the period of scarcity there was not sufficient money in the military chest to provide for urgent requirements, and coin was not to be had for treasury bills. General Craig

* As an instance, the salary of the landdrost of Stellenbosch at this time was £120 a year, with house and garden. But his perquisites were officially stated to amount to at least £1500 a year.

therefore issued paper to the amount of £50,000, similar to that already in use in the colony. It was appropriated solely to purposes connected with the support of the troops.

The military force stationed in the colony at this time was very large. After the surrender of Admiral Lucas the troops destined for India, but temporarily detained, were sent to that country, and in November the two battalions of the seventy-eighth, then united into one strong regiment, proceeded to Calcutta. They were followed in December by the eightieth. To take their place at the Cape, in September the Scotch Brigade and the eighty-sixth regiment arrived, and in November the eighth light dragoons. The ninety-fifth regiment was drafted into the eighty-fourth and the eighty-sixth. There were thus in garrison nearly two hundred artillerymen, four strong regiments of infantry—the eighty-fourth, eighty-sixth, ninety-eighth,* and Scotch Brigade,—and two regiments of cavalry, the eighth and twenty-eighth light dragoons, in all nearly five thousand men.

The naval force on the station was also very strong, as the Dutch ships captured in Saldanha Bay had been put into commission as British men-of-war. The command which Admiral Elphinstone had held was divided into two, on his leaving for England in November 1796, the Indian station being assigned to Rear Admiral Peter Rainier and the Cape station to Rear Admiral Thomas Pringle, flying the red flag. With Admiral Pringle were left seven ships of the line, the *Tremendous, Ruby, Stately, Dordrecht, Sceptre, Tromp,* and *Jupiter,* three frigates, the *Saldanha*—previously the *Castor,*—the *Braave,* and the *Crescent,* and seven smaller vessels, the *Vindictive*—previously the *Sirene,*—the *Sphinx, Rattlesnake, Echo, Princess, Euphrosyne,* and the *Hope,* previously the *Star.* In addition to these, in November 1796, after Admiral Elphinstone's departure, the frigate *Imperieuse* arrived from England

* This regiment, which was raised in 1794 as the ninety-eighth Argyleshire Highlanders, in October 1798 changed its number to the ninety-first. It remained in the colony during the whole period of the first British occupation. In July 1881 it changed its title once more, on this occasion to the first battalion Princess Louise's Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders. It will be met with again in the course of South African history.

for service on the Cape station, and in May 1797 the *Trusty*, a ship of fifty guns. This powerful fleet carried between four and five thousand men, and was used not only to protect the Cape, but to supply detachments to cruise off Mauritius, and to intercept vessels bound to Europe and America under neutral flags, but really French or Dutch bottoms laden with Indian produce.

No other than British or colonial vessels were permitted to capture whales or seals along any part of the coast between Loanda and Delagoa Bay, and a small cruizer was generally employed in protecting this industry. In December 1795 Captain Alexander was sent up the western coast in the *Star* to examine the bays along it, to take possession of them for the crown of England, and to warn foreign whalers to leave. The *Star* proceeded as far as the fifteenth degree of south latitude, touching on the passage at Angra Pequena, Spencer Bay, Walfish Bay,* and two ports several hundred miles farther north. At each of these places possession was taken by Captain Alexander, the ceremony consisting in hoisting the British flag, firing three volleys of musketry, and turning over a few spades full of soil. Very few natives were seen, and those few could not be communicated with. At Angra Pequena two whalers were found, and from them it was ascertained that in the preceding season thirty ships—half of them American—were engaged in taking whales on the coast, Possession Island being their main station.

* The spelling of this name in official documents being as above, I am obliged to retain it, although the word Walfish, being partly Dutch and partly English, is objectionable. The Portuguese discoverers gave the inlet the name Bahia das Balêas, on account of the number of whales found there. The Dutch, who came next, merely translated the name into Walvisch Baai, and the first English followed their example and called it Whale Bay. During the time that Napoleon was confined on St. Helena, cattle were often brought down from Damaraland and sent from the bay for the use of the garrison at that island, and the English sailors corrupted the word Walvisch—which they heard from some Cape fishermen there—into Walwich and Woolwich. Some mapmakers took over this corruption, and as Walwich Bay it is still often found on charts. When it was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1884, the word underwent another change in the proclamation, and appeared as Walfish.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE, EARL MACARTNEY, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 5TH MAY 1797; RETIRED 20TH NOVEMBER 1798.
MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS DUNDAS, ACTING GOVERNOR, 21ST NOVEMBER 1798 TO 9TH DECEMBER 1799.

SEVERAL months elapsed after intelligence of the successful operations of the British expedition reached England before the king's government decided upon the form of administration of the colony. In December 1796 the arrangements were completed. A civilian of eminence was to be placed at the head of the government, and a military officer of high rank, who was to have command of the garrison, was to hold a commission as lieutenant-governor, empowering him to assume the higher duty in the event of the death or absence of the governor.

As governor the earl of Macartney, a very able man, was selected, and as lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces Major General Francis Dundas, who was already in the colony, having reached Capetown on the 18th of November 1796.

In the instructions to the governor all civil and military power in the settlement was placed in his hands alone, he was entrusted with the duties of vice admiral and ordinary, and he had authority given to him summarily to banish any person whose presence he might regard as dangerous to peace and good order. But the whole tone of the instructions was favourable to the colonists, and indicated a liberal and benevolent disposition towards them. Oppressive monopolies were not to be permitted, all land rents in arrear at the date of

the conquest were remitted, liberty of conscience and the free exercise of public worship by all persons of whatever creed were allowed, torture on trial and barbarous modes of execution were abolished, and the strictest justice in every case was to be enforced.

Lord Macartney, who was an Irish gentleman recently raised to the peerage, had previously filled many positions of importance. In 1764 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to the empress of Russia, in 1769 he was appointed chief secretary of Ireland, in 1775 he became governor of Grenada, and in 1780 governor of Madras. In October 1785, when returning to Europe after holding the appointment last named, he visited Capetown and resided here for a fortnight. In 1792 he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the emperor of China. He arrived at the Cape in the ship of war *Trusty* on the 4th of May 1797, and at ten o'clock on the following morning, in presence of the members of the high court of justice, the burgher senate, the clergymen, and the principal residents in Capetown, at the government house in the garden his commission was read, and he took the oaths of office. General Dundas did not assume duty until the 23rd of May, when General Craig proceeded to Bengal.

The administration of Lord Macartney in South Africa has been described by one of the ablest writers of the day, and that description has been received generally by Englishmen as correct. But the official records of his government, as well as the accounts given by colonists and by foreign visitors and travellers, do not accord with all that Mr.—afterwards Sir John—Barrow wrote. There are reasons for this, without implying that Barrow was intentionally guilty of misrepresentation. He was bound to Lord Macartney by the strong tie of gratitude. He had accompanied the embassy to China, during which he met with many favours. Then he was selected by Lord Macartney as one of his private secretaries, with a promise that he should be well provided for in South Africa, a promise that was faithfully kept. The one was a munificent patron, the other a grateful receiver of favours.

This position must insensibly have coloured Barrow's pages. Then there was at least one strong sentiment in common to them both: a detestation of jacobin principles, so deep-rooted as to prevent them seeing any merit whatever in those who held republican views.

What to Barrow seemed good and liberal government appeared to others of his time oppressive and narrow; and there certainly never was a period in the history of the Cape Colony when there was less freedom of speech than during the administration of the earl of Macartney.

All the high offices were filled by Englishmen in receipt of large salaries. From the date of his appointment the governor drew from the colonial revenue £10,000 a year, besides a table allowance of £2,000; and he had the promise of a pension upon his retirement of £2,000 a year for life. The lieutenant governor drew a salary of £3,000 a year. Mr. Andrew Barnard, colonial secretary, drew a salary of £3,500 a year. Mr. Hercules Ross, who had acted as secretary under General Craig, was now appointed deputy secretary, with a salary of £1,500 a year. Mr. John Hooke Greene filled the office of collector of customs, with a salary of £1,000 a year. Mr. Anguish, a young gentleman who came out with Lord Macartney purposely to be provided for, received the situation of controller of customs, with a salary of £1,000 a year; and upon his death a couple of days later, the office was transferred to Mr. Acheson Maxwell, previously one of the governor's private secretaries. Mr. Barrow was employed for a time in commissions to different parts of the country, and was then made auditor-general, with a salary of £1,000 a year. Mr. Edward Buckley was appointed civil paymaster, with a salary of £1,000 a year, and Mr. Henry James Jessup chief searcher of customs, with a salary of £700 a year. Without going further, here was a sum of £24,700 a year, which was the first charge upon the colonial revenue. It was payable in sterling money, so that the rate of exchange was not to affect these officials. And the whole revenue of 1796, the year before Lord Macartney and the new staff took office, was

£28,903 19*s.* in paper, equivalent at the usual rate of exchange at the time to £23,123 3*s.* $2\frac{2}{5}d.$ sterling. All other expenditure was necessarily reduced to the lowest possible amount, in order that the imperial treasury should not have to make good any deficiency.

The government was free of the slightest taint of corruption, but was conducted on the strictest party lines. Those colonists who professed to be attached to Great Britain were treated with great favour. Lady Macartney had not accompanied her husband to South Africa, consequently there were no entertainments except dinners at government house; but Lady Anne Barnard, wife of the colonial secretary and one of the most fascinating women of her time, did all that was possible to captivate the wives and daughters of the leading townspeople, in order through them to secure the goodwill of their husbands and fathers. Her receptions and frequent evening parties at her beautiful home at Paradise were designed for that purpose; but the circle to which she was able to extend her influence was small. To those within it, as well as to the English military and naval officers and the high-placed officials, the government seemed a model of perfection.

Among those who expressed the greatest satisfaction at having been relieved from the fear of French domination were Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille and Mr. Honoratus Maynier. The latter had come to reside at Groenekloof, and will presently be found in office again. De Lille was now barrack-master in Capetown. The situation was not one usually held by a man of higher rank than a captain, but he seemed perfectly satisfied with his position.

Lord Macartney required the burghers to take a new oath of allegiance to the king, on the ground of a change in the administration having taken place. To many of them this was very objectionable, and a few held back when summoned to appear before the officers appointed to administer it. The governor was firm. Dragoons were quartered upon several of the reluctant ones, and others were banished from the country. The late national commandant of Swellendam, Petrus Jacobus

Delport, was among those who tried to evade taking the oath. He kept out of the way for a while, but a year later he was arrested, and was then placed on board a ship and sent into exile. This act of power greatly increased the disaffection towards the British authorities in the south-eastern districts, and was one of the causes that a little later led to an insurrection.

Quartering dragoons upon offenders holding jacobin principles was the ordinary method with Lord Macartney of "bringing them to reason." There was a scale of diet, according to which the dragoons could insist upon being provided, if they were not supplied with food to their liking. In some instances payment was made, but in others food and lodging were demanded free. Burghers who were suspected of being republicans, but whose language and conduct gave no opportunity of bringing them to account, were appointed to some petty unpaid office, and if they declined to perform the duty and take the stringent oath required, a sergeant and ten dragoons speedily appeared with a demand for free quarters.

Allowance, however, must be made for the circumstances of the time, England and France being then engaged in a desperate struggle, and men of the tory party, such as Lord Macartney, regarding republican principles with something like horror.

The slightest indication of French proclivities roused the ire of the governor, as the following incident will show. In August 1798 Mr. Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen, of Bergvliet, between Wynberg and Muizenburg, invited a number of his friends to be present at his daughter's marriage, and was so imprudent as to issue the invitations on cards in the French style, substituting for Mr. the word Citizen. On the day of the ceremony the governor ordered a party of dragoons to "proceed to the festive assembly of Citizens," and to remain there "to prevent any irregularity that might be apprehended from disaffected or suspected persons." Mr. Eksteen was required "without delay to retract and redress in the most public manner this wanton and petulant conduct, and to

provide sufficient security for his good behaviour and dutiful deportment towards government in future, or to repair to that country where in the midst of confusion and medley his invitations would be better relished." This order, conveyed in writing, brought the offender to government house, protesting that he had not meant to cause the slightest annoyance; but his apology was not accepted until he produced a bond for a thousand pounds, signed by two substantial persons, as "security that he would not in future be guilty of similar or any other offences against the government." The dragoons were then recalled.

General Craig had promised the colonists free trade, and he kept his word as well as he could. By free trade must of course be understood what the words implied in those days, not what they imply now. Any produce required by the government could be demanded from the farmers at stated prices. A duty of five per cent of the value was charged upon both imports and exports, as under the Dutch East India Company. No merchandise whatever was allowed to be landed from a vessel under a foreign flag, unless by special permission under urgent circumstances, and then double import duties were charged. The only exception to this rule was the case of a Portuguese vessel from Mozambique, which put into Table Bay with three hundred and fifty slaves on board. General Craig was of opinion that slaves were so greatly required for the extension of agriculture in the colony that he allowed this cargo to be landed and sold by auction on payment of the ordinary duty of £2 a head. A little later it was ascertained that there was a scheme on foot to supply the French island of Mauritius with provisions from the Cape, by means of slaves as a decoy. Vessels were to be fitted out at Mozambique under Portuguese or Danish colours, and were to put into Table Bay pretending to be bound to Brazil and to be in distress; under this plea the slaves on board were to be sold, as much grain as possible was to be purchased, and they were then to proceed to Mauritius. The discovery of documents on board a prize, however, frustrated the

plan, and traffic with the eastern coast was afterwards prohibited.

Before the arrival of Lord Macartney direct commerce with England was not established, but goods were obtained from ships that called for supplies. Lord Macartney brought out with him and put in force an order in council, dated 28th of December 1796, concerning trade at the Cape of Good Hope. Goods imported from any part of his Majesty's dominions—of course in British bottoms—were to be admitted free of duty.* The subjects of all countries in amity with Great Britain were to be permitted to carry on trade in the colony, subject to such duties as the governor might establish. These duties were thereafter fixed at ten per cent of the value on foreign goods brought in foreign bottoms, and five per cent of the value on foreign goods brought in British bottoms or British goods brought in foreign bottoms. An exception, however, was made with regard to commerce with places east of the Cape of Good Hope, which could only be carried on by the English East India Company, or with its license.

No changes were made in any of the public institutions except the courts of justice. The old high court, the burgher members of which were unpaid during the administration of the Dutch East India Company, as were also the former official members after the British occupation, in October 1795, on being called upon to continue its duties, petitioned General Craig to attach salaries to the offices of the judges. The request was regarded as reasonable by the English ministry, but it was considered that the number of members could be considerably reduced without detriment to the efficiency of the court. Persons holding other situations in the civil service were to be eligible as judges, at the discretion of the governor.

* This remained in force until the 1st of July 1802, when by an order in council of the 11th of February 1801 goods from any part of the king's dominions except Great Britain and Ireland were made subject to an import duty of five per cent upon their value. But as the colony was then about to be restored to the Batavian Republic, trade under the English flag nearly ceased, so that the customs regulations introduced by Lord Macartney were practically observed during the whole period of the first British occupation.

The high court was now reduced to a president and seven members, five of whom were to form a quorum. The president —who was the senior member—received a salary of £400 a year, the three members next in order of seniority received each £200 a year, and the four junior members each £100 a year, payable in paper money at the rate of five rixdollars to the pound sterling. In civil cases, when the amount in dispute was over £200, there was an appeal to a court consisting of the governor and lieutenant-governor; and, when the amount in dispute was over £500, there was a final appeal to the king in council.

The powers of the minor courts to adjudicate in civil cases were enlarged: the court of commissioners for petty cases in Capetown to sums not exceeding £40, the courts of landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch and Swellendam to sums not exceeding £30, and the court of landdrost and heemraden of Graaff-Reinet, on account of the great distance from the seat of government, to sums not exceeding £66 13*s.* 4*d.*

In January 1797 a commission was issued creating a court of vice admiralty, with a single judge, and Mr. John Holland was sent from England to fill the office. The area of jurisdiction of this court was defined in the commission as extending from Cape Negro on the western coast to Cape Correntes on the eastern.

An improvement of inestimable importance to the efficiency of the civil service was made at this time by a change in the mode of payment of officials of lower grade than those already referred to. It was a change admitted to be necessary by the latest administrators of the Dutch East India Company, and was even resolved upon by them, but they could never carry it into practice, owing to their want of funds. If the colonial revenue should prove insufficient for the purpose, Lord Macartney was directed to draw upon the imperial treasury through the English East India Company to make good the deficiency. Fixed salaries were now assigned to the officials, which they were to receive at regular intervals, and though the salaries were so small that there was no inducement for

the best men to enter the service, a fairly efficient staff was secured. All fees and perquisites, upon which they had previously mainly depended, were thereafter paid into the public treasury. An exception, however, was made in the important office of fiscal, the holder of which continued to receive the chief part of his income in the form of a third share of confiscations and fines imposed by the high court of justice.

Mr. Bresler was instructed by Lord Macartney to return to Graaff-Reinet and assume duty as landdrost. With him was sent a guard of twelve dragoons, who were to remain at the drostdy as a garrison and to carry despatches. All arrears of land rents to the 16th of September 1795 were remitted. The former inhabitants of the fieldcornetcies of Zuurveld, Tarka, Zwagershoek, Sneeuwberg, and Nieuwveld, who had been driven from their homes by Bushmen or Kaffirs, were to hold their farms free of rent for the next six years, provided they would return and resume occupation within four months. If the landdrost should consider it necessary to call out a commando against Bushmen, the farmers were ordered by proclamation to obey. The marauders were then to be driven into the great interior plain, where they were to be left unmolested, and, if possible, a boundary was to be fixed between them and the colonists, over which neither party was thereafter to be allowed to trespass. Such a scheme was really impracticable, but the governor, being without experience in dealing with a race of savages, could not know that.

The Xosas in the colony were to be treated differently. The landdrost was instructed to try to induce them to return to their own country, and he was to be careful that no encroachment was made by Europeans on territory beyond the Fish river, that the white men then living beyond that river should be required to come back to the colonial side, that all Kaffirs in service with colonists should be discharged, and that no one should cross from either side of the Fish river to the other without special permission. He was to report upon the advisability of removing the drostdy from the village of Graaff-Reinet to the neighbourhood of Zwartkops River.

On the 30th of July Mr. Bresler, accompanied by Mr. Barrow, Lord Macartney's private secretary, arrived at the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, and met with a friendly reception from a body of farmers who had assembled purposely to welcome him. On the following morning Mr. Gerotz transferred the office and the records, and he assumed the duties of landdrost.

After arranging matters at the drostdy, Messrs. Bresler and Barrow proceeded on a tour of inspection of the district. They first visited the country around Algoa Bay, and then travelled eastward through the Zuurveld, taking as guides the farmers Jan du Plessis and Hendrik van Rensburg, and as interpreter the Hottentot Willem Hasebek. At the Kariega river parties of the Amambala clan, under the sons of Langa, were met, and near to them the clans of the Amantinde, Imidange, and Amagwali, under Tshatshu and other captains. Farther eastward was a clan that had recently come to reside there, under a young chief named Jalusa, who was a near relative of Ndlambe. All of these, on being requested to return to their own country, replied that they were willing to do so, but were afraid of Gaika. The chief of whom they thus spoke was the son of Umlawu and grandson of Rarabe in the great line. He had recently come of age, according to Bantu ideas, and had then claimed the position of chief of that section of the tribe over which his grandfather had directly ruled; but he had not succeeded in establishing himself in it without opposition. A large party was desirous that the regent Ndlambe should remain in power, and had aided him to resist Gaika in arms, but had been beaten. The clans in the Zuurveld preferred to acknowledge the superiority only of Kawuta, head of the Galeka branch of the tribe and representative of Tshawe in the great line, because in that case they would be much less subject to control.

Messrs. Bresler and Barrow visited Gaika at his kraal on the bank of a little stream flowing into the Keiskama. Between the Fish and Keiskama rivers they found no inhabitants, as the former residents had recently crossed over

to the Zuurveld. Gaika stated that the clans in the Zuurveld were not his subjects, and that he had no control over them, but he would be glad to receive them as friends if they chose to return to their former homes. He stated also that he had been at war with his uncle Ndlambe, who had been assisted by Kawuta, but that he had been victorious and had taken Ndlambe prisoner. The captive chief was then residing at Gaika's kraal with his wives and personal attendants, and was well treated, though he was not permitted to move about.

An agreement was made with Gaika that he should send a messenger with an offer of peace and friendship to the chiefs in the colony; that none of his subjects, on any pretence whatever, should have intercourse with the colonists, or cross the established boundary unless expressly directed to do so by him; and that he should keep up a friendly communication with the landdrost by sending to Graaff-Reinet, yearly or oftener, one of his people, who should carry as a mark of office a brass-headed staff with the arms of the king of England engraved on it.

Mr. Bresler next sent Du Plessis and Van Rensburg to Cungwa, who was living on the Bushman's river, to try to persuade him to move beyond the boundary. But the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld had no intention of leaving it, and all the conferences and messages were useless. In February 1798 the landdrosts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet were instructed to renew the attempts to induce them to retire, and to warn them that if they did not leave of their own accord they would be expelled by force; but the warning was as unheeded as the requests.

In March 1798 the first post-office in the colony was established. Previously, letters for private individuals were sent as a favour with government dispatches, or were given in charge of people on board ships. The office was at first intended only for an ocean mail, as there was no thought yet of a post within the colony. The charge on letters was at the rate of a shilling a sheet, and on books or newspaper packets four shillings a pound (453·59 grammes). Mr. John Holland

was appointed postmaster-general, with an office in the castle. The revenue derived from this source was for some time about £200 a year.

The northern boundary of the colony had never been defined by the East India Company. On the 14th of July 1798 Lord Macartney issued a proclamation, which added to the district of Graaff-Reinet a small piece of territory beyond the Tarka river, and declared the following to be the boundaries: the Fish river from its mouth up to Esterhuis's Poort at the end of the Kaga mountain, the Kaga mountain to the Tarka mountain, the Tarka mountain to the Bamboes mountain, the Bamboes mountain to the Zuur mountain, the Zuur mountain to Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river, Plettenberg's beacon to Great Table Mountain, thence to the Nieuwveld mountains, along the Nieuwveld mountains to the source of the Riet river, the Riet and Fish rivers behind the Roggeveld mountain, the Spioen mountain, the Kabiskow peak, the Long mountain, the northern point of the Kamies mountain, and the river Koussie or Buffalo to the Atlantic. In the proclamation, all persons were forbidden to settle or graze their stock beyond these limits, under penalty of banishment and confiscation of their cattle, or to hunt game or travel there without a pass from the governor, under penalty of corporal punishment.

But, in point of fact, colonists were then living and paying rent for farms north of the Nieuwveld mountains, and they were not disturbed by the government. On that distant frontier, seldom or never visited by any official of higher rank than a fieldcornet, it was impossible to have everything in regular order. The wording of the proclamation shows how vague was the knowledge at the seat of government of the geographical features of the country. Thus both the Riet and Fish rivers behind the Roggeveld mountains are named as forming the boundary, which is an impossibility.

The harvest of 1797-8 was a tolerably good one, and food was again at a reasonable price. A contract for the supply of bread to the troops was taken at a penny a pound, and of meat at two pence and two twenty-thirds of a penny a pound,

payable in paper currency at the rate of four shillings for a rixdollar. The government permitted no provisions of any kind to be exported without special leave from the secretary's office; and the prices of cattle and corn, meat and bread, were fixed just as in the olden times. There was an excellent market provided by the shipping and the garrison, and payment for supplies was promptly made by the government; but the farmers had no more liberty of buying and selling than they had under the East India Company. It was a common occurrence for those near the Cape to be required to furnish quantities of grain for the troops, when notice was served upon them that if they did not deliver their respective quotas before a certain date soldiers would be quartered upon them to live free of charge.

At this time, and until the close of 1802, the average imports of goods of all kinds were in value £253,927, and of slaves £44,950 a year. The average exports of South African products amounted only in value to £15,047. There was thus a balance of trade against the colony of £283,830 a year, which was met in coin that came into the country through the troops and shipping.

The revenue rose rapidly after 1796. During the period 1797 to 1802 it was on an average £73,518 a year. The accounts were kept in rixdollars, and the figures here given are obtained by computing the rixdollar at its nominal value of four English shillings. Its real value, as determined by the rate of exchange, fluctuated so much that it is impossible to give statistics with absolute accuracy in English money.

Between the date of the surrender of the colony to the British forces and the close of the eighteenth century seven hundred and forty-two vessels, exclusive of coasters, touched either at Table Bay or Simon's Bay. Of these, four hundred and fifty-eight were English, one hundred and twenty-four were American, ninety-one were Danish, thirty-four were prizes to English men-of-war, and the remaining thirty-five belonged to various nations. The average number that touched yearly was one hundred and seventy-one.

In 1798 the district of Swellendam was first provided with a clergyman. The reverend Mr. Von Manger, who had retired from Graaff-Reinet, objected to return to duty there, and in consequence his salary was stopped at the end of June 1797. But in the following year he was again taken into service, and was sent to Swellendam. On the 31st of May the governor approved of elders and deacons, and on the 18th of June the clergyman commenced duty. The erection of a church in the village was taken in hand immediately afterwards.

Graaff-Reinet was not left long without a clergyman. In August 1797 the reverend Hendrik Willem Ballot, recently minister at Malacca, arrived in South Africa in a Danish ship from the East Indies, and as he expressed a wish to be employed here, he was shortly afterwards sent to Roodezand to perform the duties temporarily while the reverend Mr. Vos went on a pastoral tour to the eastern frontier. In February 1798 he was appointed permanent minister of Graaff-Reinet.

In October 1797 a mutiny broke out in a portion of the British fleet on the South African station. Tidings of the mutiny at Spithead—15th April to 15th May of the same year—had reached Capetown on the 31st of August, but unfortunately no information of the more important outbreak at the Nore—20th May to 15th June,—and of the terribly severe punishment of those who took part in it, had yet been received.

A few changes had recently taken place in the ships on the station, the *Ruby, Dordrecht, Tromp*, and *Princess* having gone to England in charge of convoys, and the *Echo* having been condemned as unseaworthy and put out of commission. On the other hand, the *Raisonable*, of sixty-four guns, the *Star*, of eighteen guns, the *Chichester* storeship, and the *Suffolk* tender had arrived to strengthen the fleet. At this time the *Stately, Sceptre, Raisonable, Jupiter, Saldanha, Crescent, Sphinx*, and *Hope* were at sea on service, the remainder of the fleet was in port.

On the 2nd of October the crew of the *Vindictive* in Table Bay showed symptoms of discontent, and on the 7th the

crews of the *Tremendous*, *Trusty*, *Imperieuse*, *Braave*, *Rattlesnake*, *Star*, *Euphrosyne*, *Chichester*, and *Suffolk*, all lying in Simon's Bay, rose in general mutiny. On a preconcerted signal a jacket was hung at the end of each ship's jibboom and a round of cheers was given. Some officers, both commissioned and warrant, who were obnoxious to the seamen were put ashore, but Admiral Pringle was detained on board the *Tremendous*, and was not permitted to send any other than open letters to land.

The mutineers elected delegates to represent their grievances, and issued a manifesto, in which they declared their loyalty to their country and asserted their intention of returning to duty immediately in case an enemy should appear. They would permit neither pillaging, pilfering, riot, nor ill usage of any one. Their only motive, they said, was to obtain redress of their grievances and to secure better treatment from their officers. They complained generally of tyrannical conduct on the part of those they had sent on shore, of petty acts of oppression and extortion by individual officers, and of food bad in quality and defective in quantity.

As soon as intelligence of these occurrences reached Lord Macartney he prepared to occupy the heights above Simonstown with a strong body of troops, in order to compel the mutineers to submit. Admiral Pringle, however, adopted more lenient measures. He took the grievances of the seamen into consideration, promised them redress as far as it was in his power to give it, and offered them a general amnesty. Any officers from whom they had received ill treatment, he assured them, would be brought to trial by court martial, upon their complaints being made in the proper manner. Upon this, on the 12th, five days after the commencement of the revolt, the men resumed their duty, and the admiral issued a proclamation of general pardon.

On the 24th of October a squadron consisting of the *Sceptre*, *Raisonable*, and *Jupiter* arrived from sea, and a similar mutiny took place on board these ships, when the men were pacified in the same manner.

One of the most obnoxious of the officers was Captain George Hopewell Stephens, of the *Tremendous*. On the 6th of November he was brought before a court martial on board the *Sceptre*, charged by a seaman named Philip James and others of his crew with oppressive conduct and neglect of duty towards them. He had been put out of the ship by force on the 7th of October. On the second day of the trial the court was insulted, and upon the offender being committed to prison, the mutiny broke out again in the *Tremendous*, *Sceptre*, and *Rattlesnake*, lying in Table Bay.

Admiral Pringle concerted with Lord Macartney, with the result that on the morning of the 9th the guns of the Amsterdam battery were brought to bear on the *Tremendous*, and the mutineers were informed by proclamation that if they did not return to duty and send the ringleaders ashore within two hours from the discharge of a signal gun, fire would be opened upon them. The crews of the three ships then surrendered and gave up the ringleaders to the number of twenty-two, who were placed in confinement in the castle.

The *Crescent* arrived in Table Bay on the 16th of October, but anchored off Robben Island on account of an outbreak of small pox on board a Spanish prize with slaves from Mozambique, which she had captured. On the 9th of November, just as the last-named disturbances were quelled, her crew mutinied and set some obnoxious officers ashore on the island. A delegate was then sent to the admiral, but was at once seized and committed to prison. The *Jupiter* was despatched to bring the *Crescent* up to the anchorage before the Amsterdam battery, where one hour was given to her crew to send the ringleaders ashore. They gave up six, and the mutiny was ended.

Captain Stephens was honourably acquitted by the court martial of the charges brought against him, and then followed the trials of the leading mutineers. On the 21st of November Philip James, seaman of the *Tremendous*, and Daniel Chapman, seaman of the *Sceptre*, were sentenced to death under the nineteenth article of war, which forbade making a mutinous assembly on any pretence whatsoever, and were hanged at the

yard arms on the 23rd. On the 5th of December Richard Foot and James Reese, seamen of the *Tremendous*, were sentenced to death, and were executed on the 24th. Three others received severe punishments, but had their lives spared, and the remainder of the mutineers were admitted to mercy.

In an account of these occurrences quoted by Sir John Barrow, Lord Macartney wrote that "from the most minute investigation of the second mutiny he could not discover that there was the shadow of a grievance to be pleaded in its alleviation." The character of his government cannot be better exemplified than by this sentence. There is, and can be, but one opinion now: that throughout the British navy at that time the sailors had many and serious grievances. But with men of their class Lord Macartney had very little sympathy indeed. And Barrow, the writer who could not find words too strong to express the cruelty of colonists towards their Hottentot dependents, quotes the above sentence with approbation. It seems never to have occurred to him that the sailors in the king's ships were quite as badly treated as the Hottentots, even if all the tales of atrocities on frontier farms that had come to his ears were true.

In the colony itself there were no disturbances while Lord Macartney was governor. The large military and naval force at his disposal prevented any show of disaffection, and the strength of his character and the purity of his administration commanded general respect.

Towards the close of 1798, however, the force at the disposal of the Cape government was greatly reduced. Napoleon had landed in Egypt with a French army, and the British authorities, fearing he had designs upon India, were intent upon strengthening the garrisons there and blockading the entrances to the Red sea and Persian gulf to prevent his going farther. Owing to the rebellion in Ireland they were unable to spare a sufficient number of troops from home. Just at this time too it was ascertained that Tippoo Saib, the ruler of Mysore, was in alliance with the French, and that the governor of Mauritius was endeavouring to enlist volunteers for his service. Under

these circumstances orders were issued to send the twenty-eighth light dragoons, the eighty-fourth regiment of the line, and the Scotch brigade with all possible expedition to Madras. On the 4th of November 1798 these troops left the Cape, under command of Major-General David Baird, who had then been for ten months a resident in the colony, and they were of essential service in the operations against Tippoo Saib, which ended with the storming of his city of Seringapatam and his death in the breach.

The fleet on the station had also been considerably reduced in strength. The *Trusty*, *Saldanha*, *Crescent*, *Vindictive*, *Chichester*, and *Suffolk* had gone to England with convoys, and had been as yet replaced by only the frigate *Garland*. Admiral Pringle, who was troubled with a disease in his eyes, had requested to be relieved, and in March 1798 was succeeded by Rear Admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian.

Lord Macartney was over sixty years of age, and was subject to severe attacks of gout. Before leaving England he had stipulated that if he should find it necessary for his health, he might at any time return without waiting for a successor. Major-General Dundas held a commission as lieutenant-governor, and was empowered to carry on the administration whenever the governor was absent. The first summer of Lord Macartney's residence had tried him severely, and as another hot season drew nigh he made up his mind to leave South Africa. On the 20th of November 1798 he embarked in the ship-of-war *Stately*, and the following morning sailed for England. Thereafter until 1803 he drew a pension of £2,000 a year from the revenue of the Cape Colony.

On the 21st of November, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the principal civil and military officers assembled at government house in the garden, when General Dundas caused his commission to be read, and formally assumed the administration as acting governor.

A few weeks later some of the farmers of Graaff-Reinet rose in insurrection. These men were incapable of forming an estimate of their own strength against the British empire, and

as they had successfully defied the Dutch East India Company they thought they could do the same with the new government at a time when the display of its power was not very imposing. What had they to gain by obedience, they asked themselves. In a district over thirty thousand square miles (76,800 square kilometres) in extent there was but one magistrate and one clergyman. These with a secretary and a messenger were the only paid servants of the government, excepting the twelve dragoons at the drostdy. They had to pay taxes, they said, but what did they receive in return? Certainly not protection, for in the constant struggle for existence against the Bushmen along their northern border and the Kaffir intruders in the Zuurveld and Bruintjes Hoogte they were left unaided except by a little ammunition when the authorities chose to furnish it. As they had to protect themselves they would do so in their own way, and would not pay taxes for the bare privilege of trading with Capetown, nor would they submit longer to be ruled by men placed over them by an unsympathetic government and according to laws that they had no voice in framing. Such was the position taken up by this little band of insurgents, who formed a small minority even in their own district.

The arrest and banishment without trial of Commandant Petrus Jacobus Delport for evading the governor's order to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England had added greatly to the spirit of unrest in the eastern part of the district of Swellendam. It was generally regarded by the farmers as an act of tyranny, and it certainly had not the effect that Lord Macartney intended, of overawing them all. Those who in 1795 had risen against the Dutch East India Company now professed to feel that they were not safe, but that under some pretext or another they too might be torn from their families and sent out of the country. The more daring spirits among them were therefore in a mood for revolt, and were in full sympathy and close communication with their reckless countrymen farther eastward.

The time seemed opportune for the purpose, as the garrison was then weaker than at any other period since the conquest. In the first and second weeks of January 1799 the sixty-first and eighty-first regiments had arrived at the Cape, but they were chiefly composed of boys, were only fifteen hundred strong between them, and a very large proportion of the rank and file were sick and unfit for duty. The eighty-sixth, a fine regiment of over a thousand men, was under orders for India, and left South Africa on the 19th of February. It was evident to every one that the garrison was greatly weakened by the exchange, so much so that the English civil servants and merchants in the town volunteered to assist in keeping guard, and though only sixty-one in number, their services were accepted by the government.

The fleet also was reduced in strength. In January 1799 the *Imperieuse* and *Braave* were detached temporarily for service in India, the *Sphinx* returned to England, and in place of these ships only the frigate *Oiseau* was added. Rear Admiral Sir Hugh Christian had died on the 23rd of November 1798, and the senior captain on the station was in command until a successor should arrive.

A very disastrous fire, occasioned by the burning wad of the nine o'clock gun falling on the thatched roof of the dragoon stables in the evening of the 22nd of November 1798, tended further to reduce the efficiency of the troops. A violent south-east wind caused the flames to spread to the adjoining buildings, notwithstanding vigorous efforts were made to stop them. The fire was at length got under by destroying a large dwelling house in advance of it, and saturating the ruins and buildings beyond with water; but there was great destruction of government property. The timber yard, the commissariat magazines, and the victuallers' warehouses were consumed with their contents. Over a hundred and thirty dragoon horses were burned to death, and nearly the whole of the naval and military stores in the colony were destroyed. This disaster was magnified by rumour, and the farmers on the frontier believed that the army was made almost powerless by it.

In Capetown there were a few men—among them a schoolmaster named Edeman—who secretly fomented the disposition to rise in revolt, and who sent false accounts of various transactions to the deluded people of Bruintjes Hoogte and the Zuurveld. They found means also to communicate with the French at Mauritius, and to solicit aid, representing that the rising against the British would be general. But not one of them was competent to form military plans, or even to arrange matters so that the French should endeavour to arrive at the most favourable time for rendering assistance, and thus, as in the case of Admiral Lucas, all was left to chance.

The arrangements of the leaders of the disaffected party in Graaff-Reinet were not fully completed when the arrest of the old commandant Adriaan van Jaarsveld on a charge of forgery precipitated the outbreak. Van Jaarsveld owed the orphan chamber money to the amount of £733, for which he had given a bond upon the premises on his farm Vrede. The interest was paid only to the 31st of December 1791, but when in March 1798 he was called upon to make good the whole debt, he produced a receipt for the interest to the 31st of December 1794. He was then summoned by the high court of justice to appear on the 29th of November to answer to the charge of falsifying the receipt by changing the figure 1 into 4, and as he did not obey, the fiscal issued instructions to Landdrost Bresler to cause him to be apprehended and sent to Capetown. On the 17th of January 1799 Van Jaarsveld, who was ignorant of the fiscal's order, visited the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, where he was arrested, and next morning he was sent away in a waggon under charge of a sergeant and two dragoons. Mr. Oertel, the secretary of the district, who had business to transact in Capetown, was also with the party. On the 19th the landdrost was informed that an attempt to rescue the prisoner would probably be made, and he therefore sent a corporal and five dragoons to strengthen the guard. But on the 21st these men returned to the drostdy with a letter from Secretary Oertel, informing the landdrost that there was no cause to suspect interference.

Meantime news of Van Jaarsveld's arrest had been conveyed to Marthinus Prinsloo, at the Boschberg, who at once called out a number of men to rescue him. About forty responded, and on the 21st they overtook the waggon and demanded that the prisoner should be released. Mr. Oertel and the three dragoons complied, as resistance was out of the question. On the 16th of February the secretary reached Capetown, and reported what had occurred.

After releasing Van Jaarsveld, the party under Marthinus Prinsloo marched back, and encamped a short distance from the drostdy. There they were joined by some farmers from the Zwartkops river and the Zuurveld, who brought up their number to about one hundred and fifty men.

The landdrost sent the heemraden Hermanus Olivier and Andries Smit to inquire what their object was in appearing there with weapons in their hands. Marthinus Prinsloo and three others then went to the drostdy, and informed Mr. Bresler that the fear of being arrested as Van Jaarsveld had been was the cause of their taking up arms. They would not believe that Van Jaarsveld had been apprehended on a charge of setting the summons of the high court of justice at defiance, but insisted that the real reason was the part he had acted in former years.

The farmers of the Sneeuwberg and generally of the north-western portion of the district now declared themselves on the side of the government, which greatly disconcerted the insurgents. Leaving thirty men at the camp to blockade the drostdy, they dispersed; but on the 28th of January most of them assembled again on Prinsloo's farm. There they were joined by Jan Botha and Coenraad du Buis, two men who had long been living with the Kaffirs, and who were believed to have great influence with the young chief Gaika.

Botha, who had lost one of his arms, was a man of no education, but was possessed of more than ordinary courage, and was not altogether devoid of good principles. Under favourable circumstances he would probably have lived and died a respectable burgher. His companion Du Buis was a

villain of despicable character, who had been proclaimed an outlaw in February 1798 by Lord Macartney, on account of his continuing to live in Kaffirland, in defiance of an order to return to the colony. He was a man of great bodily vigour, and was by no means wanting in intellect, but was utterly devoid of morality. Among his female companions at this time was the mother of Gaika, and this connection was the chief source of his influence in the colony as well as in Kaffirland, for it caused the colonists to believe that his power was considerable. That such a man should have been accepted as a leader by the disaffected farmers is a fact that must always weigh against their cause, though he was so plausible in speech that even the clergyman of the district was at first inclined to regard him as really not criminally disposed. Many years after this date he became the pioneer European settler in the territory north of the Vaal. There one night he addressed his children by black women, telling them that under all circumstances they were to put their trust in God, and before morning heartlessly abandoned them.

Prinsloo and Du Buis now sent out circulars, calling upon the farmers of the district to assemble in arms at the drostdy on the 12th of February. But as many of those to whom the circulars were sent announced that they had no intention of joining in the insurrection, and the commandants Hendrik van Rensburg and Thomas Dreyer declaring themselves on the side of the government, the meeting did not take place.

On the 17th of February about one hundred men assembled at the farm of Barend Burger. The reverend Mr. Ballot was there, and tried to persuade them to return to their homes, but they did not seem disposed to listen to his advice. They dispersed indeed, but with the understanding that they should meet again at Koega in a few days, and form a camp there under command of Jan Botha, to prevent the landing of troops at Algoa Bay.

On the 20th of February the thirty men who were blockading the drostdy entered the village and threatened violence. They were divided in opinion as to what should be done, some

of them proposing that the landdrost should be seized and taken into Kaffirland, to be kept there as a hostage, and others objecting to such action. Mr. Bresler and the heemraden were compelled, through fear for their lives, to write and forward to the government a letter asking favour for Du Buis and altogether misrepresenting matters. The reverend Mr. Ballot, however, at length persuaded the insurgents to retire quietly.

The dragoons—only eight in number—under Sergeant Maxwell Irwin, stood firm on this occasion. They hoisted the English flag, and drew up under it, announcing that if attacked they would defend the landdrost and themselves to the last.

The rescue of Van Jaarsveld was reported to General Dundas on the 16th of February, and next morning Brigadier-General Thomas Vandeleur with a strong detachment of dragoons and some pandours left Capetown to march overland to Graaff-Reinet. Two vessels—the brigs *Hope* and *Star*—were ordered to proceed to Algoa Bay, and in them were sent two companies of the ninety-first regiment and a number of pandours. The *Star* arrived at Algoa Bay on the 2nd of March, and the *Hope* on the 8th. The troops landed without delay, and on the 14th commenced the march to the village of Graaff-Reinet.

General Vandeleur found the people in the eastern part of the district of Swellendam in strong sympathy with the insurgents of Graaff-Reinet. Disaffection in fact existed all along the coast east of the present village of George. The general issued orders that every man should remain upon his own farm, under penalty of being treated as a traitor if found beyond it, and he stationed some dragoons in a position that commanded the eastern road. Pushing on with the remainder of his detachment, he joined the troops landed at Algoa Bay, and on the 19th of March reached the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet. On the following day fifty-three farmers from the Sneeuwberg joined the English forces. The insurgents had not ventured to make a stand anywhere, and indeed their number was too small to do so, for only about one hundred and thirty men assembled at Koega.

The English general had with him the greater part of the Hottentot regiment. Tidings of the presence of these soldiers spread rapidly through the district, and the people of their blood who were in service with the farmers, believing the strife to be one between colonists and Hottentots, began to desert and repair to the British encampment. In the condition of practical anarchy in which the district had been ever since its settlement by Europeans, the Hottentots in many instances had been harshly dealt with, and they had further the grievance that the wide pastures along the coast on which the flocks and herds of their clans had once grazed were no longer at their disposal. They had no more love for the farmers than they would have had for any other European settlers in the country. So from different quarters they began to make their way to the drostdy, where about a hundred of the young men enlisted in the Hottentot regiment, and five or six times that number of men, women, and children threw themselves under the protection of the army. This tended so greatly to discourage the farmers who were in arms that they gave up all idea of resistance.

On the 24th of March Willem Prinsloo, junior, and Daniel Liebenberg arrived at the drostdy, and presented to General Vandeleur a petition from the insurgents, begging for pardon. The general gave them a reply in writing, that they must lay down their arms before he would have any dealings with them, and that those who chose to do so could meet him on the 6th of April at the house of Willem Prinsloo, senior, at the Boschberg.

Four days later General Vandeleur with all the troops, except thirty men left at the drostdy as a garrison, set out for the Boschberg. Landdrost Bresler accompanied him. A party of soldiers was sent to arrest Adriaan van Jaarsveld and his son Zacharias, and made prisoners of them without resistance.

On the 6th of April one hundred and twelve of the insurgents, commanded by Marthinus Prinsloo, appeared at the place appointed, and laid down their arms before the troops.

There was no promise of pardon in the document that General Vandeleur had sent to them, but they were under the impression that pardon was implied in its terms, and therefore remonstrated when they were placed under guard. The general caused a short investigation to be made, and then offered forgiveness to the ninety-four whom he considered least guilty, upon their paying a fine or furnishing one or two horses. The offer was gladly accepted, and these prisoners were then released. The remaining eighteen were sent to Algoa Bay, where they were put on board the *Rattlesnake*, a ship-of-war that had brought from the Cape a detachment of the eighty-first regiment. On the 12th of June they arrived in Table Bay, and were immediately placed in close confinement in the castle.

Within a few days twenty-two others came in, and were pardoned. Twenty-seven of the insurgents, however, did not make their appearance, so on the 22nd of April General Vandeleur issued a proclamation calling upon them to surrender themselves at the farm of Thomas Ignatius Ferreira, at the Zwartkops river, on the 3rd of May. Several of them did so, but the others fled into Kaffirland. On the 24th of May General Vandeleur offered a reward of £200 for each of the following, dead or alive: Coenraad du Buis, Jan Botha, Christoffel Botha, Frans Kruger, Jan Knoetsen, Coenraad Bezuidenhout, and Jan Steenberg. All of these were then in Kaffirland, where they had been joined by nine deserters from the English army. They tried to make their way to some distant tribe, but were turned back by the Tembus, and remained for several years under Gaika's protection.

While these events were taking place, the colony was invaded by a horde of Xosas. In February 1799 Ndlambe made his escape fram the kraal of his nephew Gaika, and was joined by a great many people, who crossed the Fish river with him and spread over the Zuurveld. All the clans in that district, with the exception of the Gunukwebes under Cungwa, at once allied themselves with the powerful refugee. Between Ndlambe and Gaika a fresh quarrel had arisen, which greatly increased

the bitterness caused by their former struggle for power. The old chief had recently added to his establishment a girl named Tutula,* who was regarded as the beauty of Kaffirland; and Gaika had enticed her to himself. The Bantu in general regard impurity very lightly, but by the coast tribes chastity is strictly observed within certain degrees of relationship. In this matter Gaika offended the prejudices of his people, with the result that many thousands went over to Ndlambe.

Before this invasion a large portion of the Zuurveld was in occupation of the Xosa clans who remained there when open hostilities ceased in November 1793. But some parts of it were inhabited by farmers, and the border north and west was in possession of white men. As the horde under Ndlambe advanced, all who were in or near the line of march took to flight, some losing all they had, others who could gather their cattle driving them off and abandoning everything else.

General Vandeleur had no intention of employing British soldiers against the Xosas, and he did not anticipate that they would commence hostilities against him without provocation. After receiving the submission of the great majority of the farmers who had been in arms, he collected the troops that were posted in different parts of the district, and marched towards Algoa Bay, with the intention of returning to Cape-town. But at the Sunday river the column was unexpectedly attacked by Cungwa's followers, who believed that an attempt was about to be made to drive them over the Fish river. The Gunukwebes were concealed in a thicket through which the troops were passing, and poured in a shower of assagais from the shelter of trees, but did not expose themselves or continue the contest long.

Twenty men of the eighty-first regiment, under Lieutenant Chumney, had previously been sent to reconnoitre the country towards the coast, and, fearing for their safety, General Vandeleur now fell back to the Bushman's river, to enable them to

* She was still living in 1873, in full possession of her faculties, and did me the favour of revising a number of Kaffir folklore stories which I was then collecting.

join the column again. A temporary camp was hardly formed when an attack was made upon it by Cungwa's people, who on this occasion exhibited great bravery, rushing forward in masses with their assagai shafts broken short so that they could be used as stabbing weapons. These charges were met with volleys of musket balls and grape shot, that covered the ground with bodies, until at length the Gunukwebes turned and fled.

Meantime Lieutenant Chumney's party was surrounded, and, after making a desperate defence, all were killed except four men who managed to escape in a waggon. When these reached the main column the general resumed his march to the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, and formed a camp on the farm of Thomas Ignatius Ferreira. In the month of May he called out two large burgher commandos to take the field against the Xosas: one from the district of Swellendam, under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, the other from the district of Graaff-Reinet, under Commandant Hendrik van Rensburg.

While the commandos were assembling, a number of farmers appealed to the general for assistance against their late Hottentot servants. Many of these were roaming about the district, but several hundreds were at the British camp. General Vandeleur considered it prudent to take from those who were under his immediate protection the guns which they had carried off from their employers, and this excited their suspicion that he was about to betray them. Before the burgher commandos arrived they fled, and forming themselves into three bands led respectively by the captains Klaas Stuurman, Hans Trompetter, and Boesak, they joined the Xosa invaders, and with them spread over the district, pillaging everywhere and murdering all the white people who could not escape over the Gamtoos.

At the beginning of June the burghers mustered at the Bushman's river, provided for a campaign of two months. It was General Vandeleur's intention that they should drive the Xosas over the Fish river, but not follow them across; and to this effect he prepared instructions, which he submitted to General Dundas.

The acting governor approved of this line of action; but urged the general to do his utmost to prevent prolonged hostilities, and "by conciliatory means, by ambassadors, by presents, and by promises, to endeavour to impress the king or great chief of the Kaffir nation with confidence that the government wished to maintain peace." The great chief of the tribe at this time was Kawuta, but Gaika was the person referred to by General Dundas, and as the head of the invading horde was at feud with him, the negotiations which General Vandeleur opened upon receipt of these orders were a failure. The commandos, however, were dispirited by being kept waiting, and the Xosas came to believe that the white men were afraid to attack them.

On the 22nd of July a horde of combined Xosas and Hottentots crossed the Gamtoos river, and ravaged the Longkloof upwards for many miles. From several of the farmhouses the owners had not time to escape, and eleven white men and four white women were murdered. Twelve women and children were made prisoners, but during the night they were permitted to walk away, and they wandered about for nearly a fortnight before they were rescued.

On the 29th of July Landdrost Bresler reported that nearly the whole district of Graaff-Reinet was in possession of the Hottentots and Kaffirs. He was apprehensive that an attack would be made upon the drostdy, then protected only by a company of soldiers under Lieutenant Lynden.

The families of the burghers, however, were now safe in lagers, and every man who could be spared from their defence was in the field. But instead of acting in unison, the farmers were fighting in little parties, each on its own account. Often these parties were too small to attack the enemy, and in one instance, in an engagement on the left bank of the Sunday river, a commando of considerable strength was defeated, when five men were killed and over a hundred horses—most of them saddled—were driven off.

At the close of July matters were in a deplorable condition. Twenty-nine white people—Stephanus Scheepers, his wife, and

two sons, the widow and daughter of Jacobus Scheepers, Hendrik Strydom and his family, the widow Van Beilen and her family, Lucas van Vuuren, Pieter Heyveld, Jan Ferreira, Jan du Preez, Daniel Strydom, Jan Laas, and some others—had lost their lives, there was hardly a house left standing east of the Gamtoos, and nearly all the horses, horned cattle, and sheep were in the hands of the Xosas and Hottentots. Great herds of horned cattle had been driven over the Fish river, and many of the farmers' oxen and cows were now in Gaika's kraals. The Xosa clans, except the immediate retainers of Ndlambe, were willing to share with Gaika the spoil of the white man, and so he acted the part known to these people as "the bush," that is he professed to be sitting still in order that he might protect the plunder. The farmers were not deceived, but the government credited him with too much honesty to be capable of doing anything of the kind.

On the 7th of August General Dundas set out for the frontier, to take the direction of affairs there in person, leaving Brigadier-General Henry Fraser to act for him at Capetown. At the same time a large burgher commando was called out in each of the districts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, and fifty dragoons with some companies of the sixty-first and eighty-first regiments were ordered to the front. As yet the troops had taken very little part in the war, but it was now intended to employ them to assist the burghers if peace could not be made.

General Dundas was exceedingly desirous of coming to terms with the Xosas and Hottentots. He stated his opinion that the expulsion of the Xosas who had invaded the colony was justifiable defensive warfare, but that hostilities with them were to be deplored on the ground of humanity and as tending to increase the bitterness of feeling between the two races. As for the Hottentot insurgents, they were the descendants of the original occupiers of the country, and deserved on that account to be very tenderly dealt with. In order to try if an amicable settlement could be arrived at, he took with him Mr. Honoratus Maynier, who had secured his confi-

dence, and who was believed to have sufficient influence with Ndlambe and with the Hottentots of Graaff-Reinet to be able to induce them to agree to reasonable terms of peace.

On the 10th of August, before General Dundas and Mr. Maynier reached Swellendam on their way to the scene of disturbances, a great horde of Xosas and Hottentots appeared in the neighbourhood of the camp at Ferreira's, and got possession of most of the slaughter and draft oxen belonging to the commissariat; but they were followed up, and the cattle were recovered. General Vandeleur was so irritated by this occurrence that he caused a Xosa spy, who was detected in the camp on the following day, to be hanged "as an example to the savages."

In the beginning of September General Dundas arrived on the frontier, and shortly afterwards Mr. Maynier commenced to treat with the Kaffirs and Hottentots for peace. A considerable military force under General Vandeleur, and three strong divisions of burghers from the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet, respectively under Commandants Strydom, Van der Walt, and Van Rensburg, were at the time in the field. There was nothing left to plunder within reach of the insurgents and invaders. Under these circumstances it was an easy matter to persuade the Hottentot and Xosa captains to give their word that they would abstain from further hostilities and not trespass beyond the Zuurveld. They were promised that they would not be molested there, and large presents were made to them. To the condition of things thus created Mr. Maynier gave the name of peace, and the government gladly consented to the word being used, though General Dundas subsequently described the arrangement as a withdrawal from war rather than a restoration of tranquillity. On the 16th of October it was announced that hostilities were at an end. The hearts of the farmers sank within them, but they were obliged to abide by the decision of the authorities; and thus was established a kind of truce, which was thereafter observed in an indifferent manner.

The commandos were disbanded, and the troops were with-

drawn. On a hill overlooking the landing-place at Algoa Bay a wooden blockhouse, prepared in Capetown and sent round by sea in August 1799, was put up, and a stone redoubt eighty feet square was built and named Fort Frederick. Here three hundred and fifty soldiers under command of Major Lemoine were stationed as a garrison, and in the village of Graaff-Reinet a few dragoons and a number—constantly varying—of men of the Hottentot regiment were left. The other troops returned to Capetown.

On the 29th of October General Dundas appointed Mr. Maynier a judge in the high court of justice and bookkeeper of the loan bank, "as a reward for his very meritorious public services." And on the 25th of December he had the additional appointment conferred upon him of "resident commissioner and superintendent of public affairs within the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet," in which capacity he was invested with "power and authority to issue such orders and directions as might appear requisite for the good government of the said districts and for the proper administration of justice therein."

That was the government view of the matter, but the farmers could not see things in the same light. Some white men had risen in rebellion, and though they had not shed a drop of blood nor forcibly deprived an individual of a shilling's worth of property, they had been pursued, disarmed, and fined, and at that moment eighteen of them were in a distant prison awaiting trial for treason. Some Hottentots had risen in insurrection, and though they had murdered men, women, and children, and had pillaged farms and burned houses, they had not been pursued, nor was their plunder taken from them, nor one of their number made a prisoner. This might be British justice, but if it was, nothing but the direst necessity should make them obedient subjects. And then in their ruined state, the man whom of all in the world they disliked most was placed over them with nearly unbounded authority.

There was another very sore point with the farmers, the employment of the pandours against white people. They

attributed the revolt of the Hottentots of the district entirely to the presence of these men, and the fact that not one had gone over to the enemy did not weaken this conviction. That Du Buis and several others of his stamp had endeavoured to obtain assistance from the Kaffirs against the troops was not admitted by them as a counter argument, because this only took place after they became aware that the Hottentot soldiers were on the march towards the frontier, and even then most of them regarded such a design with horror.

Such was the feeling of the frontier farmers when Mr. Maynier became their commissioner, but they were then in so helpless a condition that they could do nothing but brood over their troubles.

It has been stated that the French at Mauritius had been applied to for assistance by some fomenters of the disturbances who were resident in Capetown, but that no definite arrangement had been made. The authorities at that island were very willing to give all the aid in their power, and an old frigate named the *Prudente* was despatched with as many volunteers as she could convey, who were entered on her books as part of her crew. They would have been landed at Algoa Bay in February 1799 in time to have joined the insurgents at Koega, had not the *Prudente* on the 9th of that month been encountered about two hundred and twenty miles due east of the mouth of the Umzimvubu by the British ship of war *Dædalus* and been made a prize.

Another attempt was made some months later, after the insurrection of the farmers had been suppressed. On the 20th of September 1799 the British sloop of war *Rattlesnake* and a storeship named the *Camel*, which had just discharged the materials for the blockhouse, were at anchor in Algoa Bay when at dusk a strange vessel under Danish colours dropped anchor close beside them. Both the English captains were on shore, and were unable to get off on account of the heavy surf. Lieutenant William Fothergill, of the *Rattlesnake*, speedily ascertained that the stranger was a large French frigate. The two English ships, though greatly inferior in

strength, at once prepared for action, and at nine in the evening the first broadside was fired. After a time the *Camel's* guns were silenced, but the *Rattlesnake* maintained the contest until half past three in the morning of the 21st, when the French frigate set her courses and drew off. It was afterwards ascertained that she was named the *Prenеuse*, and that she carried forty-four guns and three hundred men. Both the *Camel* and the *Rattlesnake* were much damaged, especially in their masts, but only two men were killed and two others wounded.

While the eastern part of the colony was in confusion, the northern border was disturbed by the Namaqua captain Afrikaner, the same man who aided the colonists against the Bushmen along the Zak river in 1792. Upon his return to his clan after visiting Capetown in 1793 he resumed hostilities against his former enemies, and rapidly drifted into a state of war with all his neighbours who had property that could be plundered. The first white man murdered by his band was the fieldcornet Pienaar, who had supplied him with ammunition during the Bushman war.

To his original clan Afrikaner now added a number of vagabonds who were attracted by the prospect of spoil, and in a short time he became a terror to the country far and wide. His stronghold was on an island in the Orange river, and from it bands of his followers made sudden swoops upon places as far distant as two hundred and fifty miles, from which they carried off everything that was valuable. Whoever resisted, whether white man, halfbreed, Hottentot, or slave, paid for the attempt with his life.

There was a party of Hottentots and halfbreeds under a captain named Cornelis Kok, sometimes roaming along the southern bank of the Great river, at other times living on a reserve in the Kamiesberg secured to them many years previously by the Cape government, when Adam Kok, the father of Cornelis, gathered them together. This clan was in possession of a good many horned cattle and sheep, and was therefore particularly exposed to Afrikaner's attacks. Kok managed

to hold his own, however, until the spring of 1798, when he suffered heavy losses. In December of that year he repaired to Stellenbosch to confer with the landdrost and endeavour to obtain aid to bring the marauders to justice; but it was not possible to assist him then.

In May 1799 the robbers were unusually successful in securing a large booty in cattle at the Hantam, but in doing so they murdered a farmer named Jacobus Engelbrecht, a halfbreed, a Hottentot, and two slaves. In the following month Afrikaner sent one of his gang, named Kobus Booy, to Stellenbosch, under pretence of asking for pardon, but it was afterwards strongly suspected that the messenger's real object was to obtain a supply of ammunition. General Dundas refused to pardon the robber captain, and instructed the landdrost to call out a commando against him and set a price upon his head. This was done, but without any good result, as the marauder's retreat could not be reached. After this date, however, Afrikaner's depredations were chiefly confined to the clans beyond the colonial boundary, though his name remained a terror to the farmers of a large portion of the district of Stellenbosch.

In November 1800 he sent Kobus Booy again to Capetown, professedly to ask that he might be pardoned, but more probably to act as a spy. Sir George Yonge, who was then governor, was disposed to overlook the past in order to prevent greater evils in the future, and forwarded to Afrikaner a safe-conduct for himself and his followers, to hold good for six months, to enable them to visit Capetown and make arrangements by which they could live honestly. To Kobus Booy the farm Klipfontein in Little Namaqualand was given, as an earnest of the governor's desire to provide for their maintenance. But Afrikaner declined the offer, and continued his career as a marauder.

With the Bushmen on the north-eastern frontier there was at this time a cessation of hostilities. In July 1798 Lord Macartney directed the fieldcornets Floris Visser and Jacob Gideon Louw to endeavour to make peace on the basis of

furnishing the Bushmen with a supply of breeding cattle and making them periodical presents. The fieldcornets thereupon collected a large number of cows and sheep by means of free gifts from farmers, and they then got together as many Bushmen as they could and submitted the proposal to them. The wild people accepted the offer, and were provided with stock to commence cattle-breeding on their own account, with an assurance that they would not be molested if they would keep on the northern side of the boundary proclaimed by Lord Macartney. In December 1798 this arrangement was reported to the government, and a request was made by Fieldcornet Visser for a supply of trinkets as presents. A quantity of beads, tinderboxes, rings, pocket mirrors, and knives, was at once sent to him for that purpose.

But this scheme, apparently so admirable, soon proved a failure. As the Bushmen were without government, none but those who personally made an agreement and received cattle considered themselves bound by the arrangement, and though for a time it was found possible to supply all who could be communicated with, the stock of cattle collected by subscription was at length exhausted. Then there was great waste with the new cattle-breeders, and to complete the destruction of the project, the savages farther inland fell upon those who were not living according to the traditions of their race, and plundered them of everything.

In March 1799 the London missionary society commenced its labours in South Africa. Its first agents were the reverend Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp, the reverend J. J. Kicherer, and Messrs. James Edmonds and William Edwards, who took passage from England in the *Hillsborough*, a convict ship bound to Botany Bay. They received a warm welcome from many of the residents in Capetown, and a South African missionary society, which is still in existence, was formed with a view of assisting in the conversion of the heathen. Within a few weeks after their arrival the two laymen were ordained in the church at Roodezand.

Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Edmonds proceeded to Kaffirland,

and attempted to form a station close to Gaika's kraal; but after a short time Mr. Edmonds abandoned the effort and went to India. Dr. Vanderkemp remained behind, though he found the Xosas indisposed to listen to his exhortations. The European renegades at Gaika's kraal, being quite incapable of appreciating his work, also gave him much annoyance, till at length, after a residence of over a year, he left Kaffirland and retired to Graaff-Reinet, where he commenced to instruct the Hottentots in the truths of Christianity.

In the roll of prominent men in South Africa before 1820 there is no one who has been more lauded by one party or more decried by another than this missionary, the London society's most conspicuous agent in the country for many years. He had once been an officer in the Dutch army, and afterwards a physician of eminence. When past middle life he abandoned comfort and competence in Europe that he might carry the gospel to the heathen. But no one could be less practical in general conduct, or less conciliatory towards those who were not in full accord with him. He took no pains to give other instruction than in religious doctrine, thus placing himself in striking contrast with the Moravian brethren. A great and sudden domestic bereavement seems to have disturbed the balance of his mind, for eccentricity is too mild a word to use with regard to some of his habits. One of his maxims was that to secure the confidence of savages it was necessary to conform to such of their customs as were not sinful, and at a little later date this man, who had moved in refined circles in Europe, actually purchased a black slave girl, whom he married and lived with in a style hardly differing from that of people of her race.

Mr. Kicherer was a clergyman of the reformed church of Holland. He and Mr. Edwards went northward to try to establish a mission among the Bushmen on the Zak river.

These pioneers were speedily reinforced by many others from England and Holland. A society was established at Rotterdam, which sent out agents to co-operate with those of the London mission, and soon there were several stations

beyond the northern border and quite a number of evangelists instructing the coloured people within the colonial limits.

In the afternoon of the 5th of November 1799 a heavy north-west gale set into Table Bay, an unusual event at that period of the year. Among the vessels at anchor was the English ship of the line *Sceptre*, carrying sixty-four guns. At noon the *Sceptre* fired the number of guns usual in commemoration of the discovery of the gunpowder plot, and some of her officers and sailors then went ashore. A little after dark the ship began to drag her anchors, upon which others were dropped, and when all these failed to hold, a couple of cannon were attached to cables and lowered. The *Sceptre* slowly drifted in, and struck on a ledge of rocks close to Fort Knokke, where she went to pieces immediately. Next morning the beach was covered with her fragments and with the bodies of her captain, nine officers, and nearly three hundred seamen and marines who perished with her. One hundred and twenty-eight officers and men, most of whom were on shore when the disaster occurred, escaped.

The *Oldenburgh*, a Danish ship of the line, of sixty-four guns, parted soon after the *Sceptre*. Instead of dropping other anchors, she set her head sails and steered for a sandy beach, upon which she was cast; and though the ship was lost, the lives of all on board were saved. The same course was followed by the English whaler *Sierra Leone*, the American ships *Hannah* and *Anubis*, and three small craft, all of which were lost, but their crews got safely to land.

CHAPTER III.

SIR GEORGE YONGE, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 10TH DECEMBER 1799, RECEIVED LETTER OF DISMISSAL 20TH APRIL 1801. MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS DUNDAS, ACTING GOVERNOR, 20TH APRIL 1801 TO 20TH FEBRUARY 1803.

UPON the retirement of Lord Macartney, an old baronet named Sir George Yonge was selected as governor of the Cape Colony. The grounds upon which the appointment was made are uncertain, as the new governor, though he had filled important situations, had never displayed ability of a high order. He had been vice-treasurer of Ireland, a lord commissioner of the admiralty, from 1784 to 1794 one of the secretaries at war, and more recently master of the mint. He may therefore have had a claim to a lucrative appointment, but this is mere conjecture. He was decidedly the most incompetent man who has ever been at the head of affairs in the colony, though he possessed an amazing amount of self-assurance and pertinacity. The long despatches which he wrote with his own hand, badly spelt, badly punctuated, badly expressed, are as wearisome to read and as devoid of real information as those of Governor Van de Graaff. They prove him to have been a man entirely wanting in sound judgment.

Sir George Yonge received his appointment on the 3rd of April 1799, but did not reach Capetown before the 9th of December. With him in the ship of war *Lancaster* arrived Vice Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, who had been appointed to the command of the fleet on the station. At eleven o'clock in the morning of the 10th, in presence of all the officials and people of note in the town, Sir George Yonge took the oaths of office. General Dundas was still on the frontier.

The new governor made no alteration in the settlement that had been effected in Graaff-Reinet, except by sending Dr. William Somerville in April 1800 to assist Mr. Maynier, who was then in very ill health. A strenuous effort was made to secure the friendship of Gaika, who, however, was too much under the influence of Du Buis and his associates to be relied upon. On one occasion, at their instigation he actually sent a party of warriors to seize the two commissioners, the object being to detain them as hostages for the release of the prisoners in Capetown; but the party after crossing the boundary was turned back by Cungwa's clan.

In May 1800 the strength of the garrison was increased by the arrival of the twenty-second and thirty-fourth regiments of the line. These troops landed in a very sickly condition, and their loss on the passage had been unusually great, but their presence was warmly welcomed by the authorities. The strength of the fleet remained about as in the preceding year. The *Raisonable* and *Oiseau* had been sent home, and the *Hope* had been put out of commission as unseaworthy, but in their places the *Adamant*, *Diomede*, and *Lancaster* had arrived for service.

Owing to various causes, the prisoners who were sent away from the Boschberg on the 6th of April 1799 were not brought to trial before August 1800. For nearly fifteen months they had been in confinement in the castle, and in those days the treatment of prisoners was very different from what it is now. These men, whose early lives had been passed in active exercise in the open air, suffered severely from the scanty prison diet and the closeness of their quarters. With them were detained a number of persons charged with political offences, and in one apartment eighty-six prisoners were locked up at night. It was rarely that any of their friends could obtain permission to visit them. Many of their relatives, various people in Capetown, and even the burgher senate, from time to time sent petitions to the government, begging that they might receive less rigorous treatment; but the authorities thought that an example was necessary, and held that, con-

sidering the crime with which they were charged, they were being very leniently dealt with.

The members of the high court of justice who sat upon this trial were Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet, as president, and Messrs. A. Fleck, C. Matthiessen, H. A. Truter, and J. P. Baumgardt. Mr. W. S. van Ryneveld, as fiscal, conducted the prosecution. On the 3rd of September judgment was delivered. Marthinus Prinsloo and Adriaan van Jaarsveld were sentenced to death. Theunis Botha, Gerrit Hendrik Rautenbach, Barend Jacobus Bester, Jan Izaak Bonté, Pieter Frederik Rautenbach, Godlieb Koch, Gerrit Scheepers, and Pieter Ignatius van Kamer were sentenced to be struck over the head with a sword, and then to be banished from the colony for life. Lucas Meyer, Zacharias Albertus van Jaarsveld, Willem Grobbelaar, and Jacob Kruger were sentenced to witness the foregoing punishments, and then to be banished from the colony, the first two for life, the last two for ten years. Willem Venter was sentenced to imprisonment for two years, and Paul Venter to imprisonment for one year. Gerrit Botha and Jan Kruger were acquitted, on consideration of having already undergone a long imprisonment.

Sir George Yonge mitigated the sentences of Willem and Paul Venter, by releasing them upon their giving security to appear whenever called upon. Gerrit Botha and Jan Kruger, though acquitted, were required before leaving the prison to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England and to give security for their future good behaviour. The sentences of the remaining fourteen prisoners were suspended until the pleasure of the king could be made known. Some time afterwards orders were received from the secretary of state that they were to be carried into effect; but General Dundas, who was then again acting as governor, took the responsibility of further postponement, and strongly recommended the prisoners to mercy. By this time a treaty of peace between France and England was concluded, under which the colony was to be restored to its former owners. The prisoners were therefore kept in confinement, with the sentence of the court of justice

in suspense, and in that condition were transferred in February 1803 to the Batavian authorities.

Cornelis Edeman, the schoolmaster who had written letters exciting the farmers to take up arms, had also been arrested, and was at this time tried. He was sentenced to be flogged on the scaffold, and then to be banished from the colony for life, which sentence was ordered by the governor to be carried out at once.

Before Sir George Yonge left England an arrangement was made between the secretary of state and himself that an agricultural department was to be added to the Cape government. With which of them the idea originated cannot be ascertained, but at any rate the governor threw himself heartily into the project, and made a very expensive hobby of it. At this time it was supposed that only skill was needed to make South Africa a great corn and wine producing country, from which England could draw large supplies. To encourage the production of brandy and wine, on the 9th of June 1800 the house of commons reduced the duty on Cape brandy entering Great Britain to that on West Indian spirits, and the duty on Cape wines to that on wines from Portugal. But to the taste of the English people the produce of South African vineyards —except those of Constantia—was objectionable, so that this measure had little or no effect. Of Constantia wine sixty aams every year were regularly demanded by the government from the proprietors at a fixed price, as in the time of the Dutch East India Company, ten or twelve of which were distributed as presents to the principal civil and military officers, and the remainder were sent to the secretary of state to be similarly distributed in England. Shortly after his arrival, Sir George Yonge caused a "society for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, and sciences" to be established, of which he was president and Mr. Barrow secretary; but beyond talking, this society did nothing.

The agricultural department was designed to introduce improved implements and, by means of a model farm, to show

the best method of tilling the ground. It was confidently anticipated that the whole expense would be covered by the crops raised. On the 11th of September 1800 the persons selected to form the department arrived in Table Bay, after a very long passage from England. They were Mr. William Duckitt, superintendent, with a salary of £500 a year, Mr. Iles, assistant, with a salary of £60, a carpenter and a blacksmith, each with £33 12*s.*, six farm labourers, each with £31 10*s.*, one farm boy, with £10, and one dairywoman, with £10 10*s.* a year. They brought implements of various kinds with them. Soon after their arrival they were placed on the farm Klapmuts, where they were provided with horned cattle, horses, a party of slaves, and everything else necessary for their work and maintenance.

Before this date the ground in South Africa was cultivated in a very rough manner. The plough in use was a heavy wooden implement, with only one handle; and it needed a team of six or eight oxen to draw it. The harrow was equally clumsy, being formed of three blocks of wood attached to each other in the form of a triangle, with strong pegs driven in to scratch the ground. Sometimes a large bush was used. The sheaves were threshed by laying them upon a hard floor enclosed with a circular fence, and driving a troop of horses or young oxen round upon them. Grain was winnowed by throwing it up in the air when the wind was blowing.

Much had been tried of late years to improve the stock of cattle. A fairly good horse for either the saddle or the trace was now common, and there was a healthy spirit of rivalry—especially among young men—as to who should have the best. In horned cattle the aim had been to increase the size and strength of oxen rather than the quantity of milk given by cows. It was the fashion for a young farmer who wished to be thought respectable to take his bride from church in a waggon drawn by a span of fourteen large oxen of the same colour, and to become possessed of such a team was the object of each lad's ambition. Thus anything tending to im-

prove horses and horned cattle met with general approbation. The attempt to introduce woolled sheep, begun some years before, had not succeeded so well. The tracts of country supposed to be best adapted for sheep runs, and where the experiments were showing most signs of success, had been laid waste. No one had yet thought of endeavouring to keep sheep on the karoo plains all the year round, and those vast tracts of land were only inhabited for a few months during and just after the rainy season, when flocks and herds were driven down from the colder highlands, and their owners lived in great tent-waggons. There were still, however, some woolled sheep in the colony, though they were not increasing in number, and there were no longer any enthusiastic breeders. Some of the best stock had been purchased for exportation, and had been taken to New South Wales. Goats, on the contrary, had been greatly improved in weight of carcase by imported animals, and were much thought of, as they were hardy and throve where sheep would not.

This was the state of things when the agricultural department was established. The superintendent, Mr. Duckitt, was an enthusiast in the cause of high culture. His father was a well-known writer on subjects relating to farm machinery, and he himself had improved a drill for sowing seed, which was then in general use in England. As soon as he arrived he began to try to persuade the farmers near the Cape to cultivate their ground in the English manner. He succeeded in inducing two or three of the Van Reenens to make the experiment, but all the others held back. Some of them informed him that they would follow his advice as soon as they saw his model farm giving better returns than their own, others tried to argue the matter. They informed him that if God sent abundant rain the land only required to be scratched to yield heavy crops; and if little rain fell, the highest cultivation would be useless, for nothing would grow. Their ploughs and harrows cost hardly anything beyond their own labour, whereas his were expensive. Theirs required more draft cattle than his did; but they were obliged to keep a large number

of oxen to take their produce to market, and in seedtime these might as well be working as doing nothing.

The model farm was established at a bad time. The crops of 1798 and 1799 were very scanty, and that of 1800 was so defective that the quantity of wheat in the colony was altogether inadequate for the consumption of the inhabitants. It was necessary to adopt the most stringent measures to prevent a famine. A commission, consisting of the lieutenant governor, the admiral, the colonial secretary, the president of the high court of justice, the fiscal, the commissary general, and the president of the burgher senate, with Mr. John Barrow, the auditor general, as secretary, was appointed, and was empowered to require the delivery of all the grain in the country upon payment of sixteen shillings in paper a muid, and to regulate its consumption. By this commission vessels were chartered and sent to India and America for wheat and rice, and the garrison, consisting with women and children of four thousand six hundred souls, the three thousand officers and men in the fleet, and the townspeople, sixteen thousand three hundred and eighteen in number, were put upon short allowance of bread of mixed wheat and barley meal five days and of rice two days in the week. Supplies from abroad fortunately reached the colony in time to avert starvation, and as abundant rains fell in 1801 the crop of that year was very good; but during the scarcity such anxiety was felt as had never been known in South Africa before.

While the drought lasted Mr. Duckitt's method of cultivation produced nothing beyond the ordinary tillage of the country, and the farmers observed that it cost much more. By the middle of 1801 over £8,000 had been expended in connection with his undertaking, and there were no returns whatever. He had not even been able to raise sufficient food for the large number of people employed under his directions. The experiment was an utter failure, except that it was the means of bringing English ploughs into use to a limited extent, the farmers finding them more economical than the large wooden ones in ground that had been long under cultivation.

On the 16th of August 1800, during Sir George Yonge's tenure of office as governor, an official gazette began to be published. It was at first termed the *Capetown Gazette and African Advertiser,* and was issued weekly by Messrs. Walker and Robertson, merchants at the Cape, to whom a monopoly of printing in the colony was granted. It was the organ by which all proclamations and official notices were made public, and for many years it contained also trade advertisements and such general reading matter as the government considered might be safely placed before the people. Very little information concerning South Africa is to be had from it, however, and even its foreign intelligence is generally limited to matters not political. In 1801 the printing material was purchased by the government, in order to have the paper more completely under control, and it was then placed under the management of Mr. John Barrow. The publication has been continuous until the present time.

No man who has ever been at the head of the Cape government has been more generally disliked than Sir George Yonge. In one of his despatches to the secretary of state he reported that the colonists termed him their father; but in truth those who used such language were only a few suppliants for mercy. With the exception of some favourites of his own appointment he was not on friendly terms with the officers of his government, and he reported of them that the only efficient public servant whom he found here on his arrival was Mr. Hercules Ross. His despatches were read with something like alarm by the secretary of state; and when complaints of his misgovernment, supported by apparently complete proofs of his corruption, were received at the colonial office, the ministry resolved to recall him and make a strict inquiry into his conduct.

In the evening of the 19th of April 1801 the *Nutwell* arrived in Table Bay, with despatches dated on the 14th of January, addressed to Sir George Yonge and to Major General Dundas. The governor was informed that Lord Glenbervie had been appointed to succeed him, that he was at once to transfer the

administration to Major-General Dundas, and to return to England by the first opportunity. Major-General Dundas was instructed immediately on receipt of the despatch to assume the administration, and to act as governor until the arrival of Lord Glenbervie. Next morning the general called at government house, and made known his instructions. Sir George Yonge desired to retain his position a few days longer—really for the sake of appearance, nominally to put some accounts in order,—but General Dundas would not consent. That afternoon two notices were issued: one by the colonial secretary, informing the inhabitants that by order of the secretary of state General Dundas had taken upon himself the government of the settlement, the other by General Dundas, announcing that on the following morning he would take the oaths of office. Thereupon Sir George Yonge issued a proclamation, stating that the king had been pleased to appoint Lord Glenbervie governor of the colony, and had given him permission to transfer the administration to Major-General Dundas and to return to England at once.

Next morning—21st of April—at eleven o'clock the principal civil and military officers assembled at the castle, when General Dundas caused his instructions to be read, and he then took the prescribed oaths as acting governor. Sir George Yonge applied to the admiral on the station for a man-of-war to convey him to England, as was usual with governors of colonies returning home, but had the mortification of meeting with a refusal. On the 29th of May he left in a private ship for St. Helena, to the great satisfaction of nearly every one in the colony. At St. Helena he was detained four months waiting for a ship in which to take passage to England, and then left in an Indiaman and arrived at London in December. Here Lord Hobart, who on the 17th of March had succeeded Mr. Dundas as secretary of state, declined to see him, and he was informed that an investigation into his conduct was proceeding.

Meantime instructions had been sent to the acting governor to appoint a commission to collect evidence and report upon

the complaints that had reached England. This commission, consisting of Brigadier General Thomas Vandeleur, Commissary General John Pringle, the fiscal Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, the civil paymaster Edward Buckley, and the auditor general John Barrow, with Lieutenant Robert McNab as secretary, had very extensive power for compelling the attendance of witnesses conferred upon it. It commenced its investigations in October 1801, and did not send in its report until the 16th of March 1802, when scandals without parallel at any previous period of the history of the colony were brought to light.

The report stated that the first act of Sir George Yonge which gave general dissatisfaction occurred almost immediately after his arrival, when he closed the public garden in Capetown to the inhabitants and strangers. Here in the shady avenues which to the present day are among the chief charms of the city in the summer season, people had always been accustomed to stroll at pleasure. The governor now converted the greater portion of it into a private garden, where fountains and fish-ponds were constructed by his order at the public expense, and a high wall was built on the Grave street side, part of which is still standing. After a time, in reply to remonstrances, he gave permission for respectable people to have access to the main avenue upon signing their names at the guard house at its lower end, but very few persons availed themselves of this, as the townspeople would not accept as a favour what they looked upon as a right. The commission regarded this act as a breach of an ancient privilege.

Next he imposed a charge of five pounds a year upon every club, and ten pounds a year upon every public billiard table, attaching very heavy penalties to infringements of this order. This was a breach of the terms of the capitulation, but no objection was made to it by the inhabitants, who rather approved of it as a necessary police regulation. But it was different with his imposition of a charge of one pound a year for a license to shoot game, which was regarded throughout the colony as vexatious in a high degree. There had always been

regulations concerning the shooting of game, but they had been chiefly intended to create close seasons for different animals, and had never been in force at a distance from Capetown. So too discontent was created by his raising the duty on brandy brought to town for sale from twelve shillings to twenty-four shillings the legger, and by his requiring the tithes on produce to be collected according to the market prices in Capetown. These were clearly violations of the ninth article of the capitulation.

He attempted to fix a maximum price on the produce of industry and on all kinds of provisions, but on the burgher senate protesting he abandoned the design.

His establishment of a winetaster's office was regarded by the commission as a grievous, oppressive, and vexatious measure. Mr. Richard Blake, his relative and private secretary, was appointed winetaster, and had power given to him to enter into and search any premises where wine was sold, to open casks, and to destroy on the spot all wine of an inferior quality. The use which Mr. Blake made of this power was shown by his proposal to Mr. Michael Hogan, that this merchant should obtain the monopoly for the sale of wine, when he would approve of any quality, and they would share the profit.

The governor attempted in a most arbitrary manner to make to the head of the agricultural department grants in private property of land pledged under the capitulation as security for the paper money, and in defiance of the protests of the burgher senate would have carried out his purpose if he had not been recalled before the deeds were completed. Among the proposed grants was the whole of the peninsula from Simon's Bay to the Cape of Good Hope.

His regulations with regard to cutting timber were most oppressive. For nearly a twelvemonth no timber whatever was permitted to be cut in any public forest in the colony, so that the woodcutters were nearly reduced to starvation, and building operations ceased in Capetown. Then regulations were issued which practically gave a monopoly of dealing in timber to a

firm in Capetown, and vexatious taxes were levied upon the industry. The commission strongly suspected that Mr. Blake participated in the profits of the monopoly, but the evidence was purely circumstantial.

Contracts were entered into at government house without the knowledge of the colonial secretary, and public business of all kinds was transacted through the governor's private secretary and aides-de-camp. Vessels required for public service were chartered at exorbitant rates by these men, contracts for the repair of public buildings were entered into at extravagant charges, and an arrangement for the supply of meat to the troops was made which left the price to be regulated by the butchers. On one contract for the supply of articles to the barracks it was proved that Major James Cockburn, the governor's principal aide-de-camp, received a gratuity of £2,000, and that the governor had consented to the prices in the tender of Mr. Hogan being raised by ten per cent. obviously for the purpose of covering this.

New and unnecessary civil and military offices were created. Mr. Blake had added to his other appointments that of under secretary of the colony, with a salary attached to it of £1200 a year, a barrack department was created at a cost of £40,000, and Major Cockburn was appointed deputy barrack master general, and had the brevet rank of lieutenant colonel conferred upon him. In the military appointments the general in command of the troops was not consulted, nor even informed of them until after they were made.

In one instance it was proved that Lieutenant Colonel Cockburn and Mr. Blake had each received £1500 for obtaining permission from the governor to import a number of slaves from the east coast, though the traffic there was illegal, owing to the French obtaining supplies of provisions for Mauritius by this means. There was every reason to believe that these favourites of his Excellency had in like manner benefited by a great many other transactions concluded at government house, and though the commission could not obtain absolute proof, the presumptive evidence before them was strong that Sir

George Yonge was indirectly concerned in exactions from individuals who had indulgences to solicit, and that he connived at and promoted the corrupt practices carried on by those about him.

A serious charge proved against the governor was in connection with a privateer named the *Collector*. This vessel belonged to Mr. Michael Hogan, and left Table Bay with letters of marque on the 13th of March 1799, under command of Captain David Smart. Some time afterwards two small French prizes were sent in by her, one with forty-eight and the other with twenty-six slaves, who, it was deposed before the vice admiralty court, were on board when the vessels were captured. It never occurred to any one to ask the negroes themselves where they came from, so they were condemned as lawful prize, and sold for the benefit of the captors. On the 12th of April 1800 the *Collector* arrived in Table Bay again with one hundred and sixty-four slaves on board. These, it was sworn, had been taken out of a prize brig run ashore and burnt, and were condemned and sold like the others.

Just at this time the Danish ship *Holger Danske* arrived in Table Bay from Mozambique, and her officers declared that they had seen the slaves in the three vessels put on board there by Captain Smart himself. Then it was ascertained that the documents laid before the vice admiralty court were false, and that the witnesses had all been guilty of perjury. Yet it was with difficulty that the governor could be induced to consent to a trial of the case against the perjured persons before the high court of justice, and he afterwards showed marked opposition to the course of the proceedings. The result was that Captain Smart and all the false witnesses made their escape from the colony, and no one was punished either for carrying on the illegal traffic with Mozambique or for so grossly imposing upon the vice admiralty court, excepting that Mr. Hogan, the owner of the *Collector*, forfeited the sum for which the slaves had been sold.

It is unnecessary to relate other matters that were brought to light, which showed the men in whom the governor placed

his confidence, and on whose advice he acted, to have been utterly without moral principle. The preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and the continental powers, which were signed at London on the 1st of October 1801, drew attention from this subject, and the events that followed made it impossible to probe these foul transactions further, so it was considered expedient to allow the matter to drop out of sight. Mean time Sir George Yonge's self assurance was displayed in an astonishing manner. He waited upon the king when his Majesty was on a visit to Weymouth, and afterwards wrote to the secretary of state that he had been kindly received and his conduct as governor had been approved of. He sent in claims for payment of salary and expenses on his way home, for the value of a prize ship and cargo seized in Table Bay by his order, and for a reward for long and faithful services. The records now in existence are silent as to whether he gained anything by his pertinacity, but his applications appear to have been unnoticed.

To his credit it must be stated that he adopted the ideas of the fiscal Van Ryneveld with regard to the advisability of increasing the number of magisterial districts, of a circuit court to be held by two of the judges yearly, and of the establishment of good schools. These measures he recommended to the secretary of state, but they could not be carried into effect while the future ownership of the colony was doubtful. Further, he suspended the sentences of the Graaff-Reinet prisoners, which should be regarded by colonists at least as an act of wisdom as well as of mercy.

Most of his measures as governor were reversed by General Dundas as speedily as was consistent with appearances, and the conduct of affairs was restored to the position in which it was before his arrival.

The new English Ministry gave Lord Glenbervie the appointment of joint paymaster to his Majesty's forces, so that he never was governor of the colony in more than name, though he drew nearly £3,000 from the Cape revenue as salary during the time he held the title. Major-General Dundas—in 1801

promoted to be lieutenant-general — remained at the head of affairs.

After the arrangement of Mr. Maynier which was called the conclusion of peace, the district of Graaff-Reinet remained in a very wretched condition. The upper fieldcornetcies were again occupied by farmers, but the heavy losses of cattle were not made good, and poverty and distress were general. In addition to other troubles, towards the close of the year 1799 locusts in vast swarms made their appearance, and ate off every green thing, so that even the game disappeared. In February 1800 heavy rains fell, and great flocks of locust-birds came from some unknown place in the north and speedily devoured the destructive insects. But the game did not return for a long time, and many families who had few or no domestic cattle to depend upon were in consequence actually in want of food. The country in the neighbourhood of the Xosa and Hottentot kraals was nearly uninhabited, as neither life nor property was safe there.

To the farmers it seemed as if justice, as well as order, had fled from the land. It was of no use for them to bring charges against coloured people before the commissioner Maynier, for no matter how good their case might be, he would not give a decision in their favour. He reported to General Dundas that the Xosas and the Hottentots were behaving themselves very well. But for the colonists in the district he had no good word, and on their part it is not too much to say that they considered his presence a greater evil even than that of the Kaffir horde. They blamed him for all the misery they were enduring, and certainly laid much more to his charge than they should have done.

There was one thing that irritated them exceedingly. The original church in the village of Graaff-Reinet had been destroyed by fire early in 1799, but in the midst of all their troubles they had put up another building for the worship of God, and it was now being used as a barrack for the pandours. General Dundas could not enter into their feelings with regard to this matter, though he expressed regret that the officer in

command was obliged to make use of the church. He said that it was a necessity to have shelter for the Hottentot soldiers, and there was no other building available; that it was cleaned out and the Hottentots withdrawn from it some time before the hour for divine service; and that he would cause a proper barrack to be built as soon as possible. He could not comprehend why the colonists, who were of all men the least given to attach sanctity to human productions, objected so strongly to a very plain and poor building being occupied by the Hottentot soldiers, when they would have occupied it themselves, or have stored goods in it, without the slightest hesitation. But their view was that the church was being polluted by the heathen and their religion mocked, and this was also set down to Mr. Maynier's account, though in reality he had nothing to do with it.

In July 1801 the heads of families in the district were called upon to appear at the drostdy and give in the usual census returns. Instead of doing so, on the 20th of the month those who had formerly occupied farms in the Zuurveld, together with those of Bruintjes Hoogte and the fieldcornetcy of Zwartkops River, appeared in arms and demanded the removal of the commissioner Maynier and the Hottentot soldiers. They expected to be joined by the people of the other parts of the district, but were disappointed, as only a few men came to their assistance.

The dragoons and the Hottentot soldiers were prepared to receive them, but upon Mr. Maynier promising pardon and a supply of ammunition to all who would return to their homes, the insurgents withdrew, though a large party of them kept together in arms beyond the Bamboes mountains.

For a few weeks after this there was no commotion, but as a number of fugitive Hottentot servants, among whom were some charged with having committed serious crimes, and nearly all of whom carried plunder with them, took refuge at the drostdy, where they were protected, on the 23rd of October a large armed party under Commandant Hendrik van Rensburg appeared before the village again and laid siege to

it. The officer in command of the troops intrenched his force and prepared for defence, after burning down one of the public buildings by which his position was overlooked. Throughout the day shots were fired on both sides, but without any one being hurt. During the night the insurgents withdrew to a convenient place near at hand, where they formed a camp that commanded the approach to the village, and there they remained under arms.

General Dundas hereupon sent Major Francis Sherlock, of the eighth light dragoons, with three hundred men, selected from his own regiment, the artillery corps, and the ninety-first infantry, by sea to Algoa Bay, and instructed him to march to Graaff-Reinet as speedily as possible. Petitions and letters representing Mr. Maynier's conduct in the most unfavourable light, and imploring that he might be recalled, were pouring in, and General Dundas observed that most of these were from people who were staunch upholders of law and order. Among them was a letter from the reverend Mr. Vos, of Roodezand, who was on a pastoral tour to the frontier, and who was one of the warmest adherents of the English government in South Africa. Another was a letter from Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, of the Swellendam district, making many and grievous charges against the commissioner. A third was a strongly-worded document to the same effect, signed by the best men of the Sneeuwberg, Gouph, and Nieuwveld. These documents could not be disregarded, coming from such sources, and besides it was evident that Mr. Maynier was unable to suppress the insurrection. General Dundas therefore recalled him, and announced that the charges would be investigated. Mr. Bresler and the heemraden were instructed to resume their ordinary duties, which had been for some time suspended. And Major Sherlock, Major Abercrombie, and Lieutenant Smyth were appointed a commission to take over the chief civil authority in the district of Graaff-Reinet and to inquire into the cause of the disturbances.

Major Sherlock arrived at Graaff-Reinet on the 29th of

November. He found the country between Algoa Bay and the drostdy quite deserted, and the inhabitants of the district to a man under arms. The garrison of the village was holding out, but had then been four days without bread. Bands of Hottentots were marching up and down, wherever they chose, plundering whatever still remained. During the night of the 6th of November the heemraad Stephanus Naude and his wife had been murdered on their farm twelve miles from the village. The camp of the insurgent burghers was so situated that the drostdy was closely invested.

Having ascertained the condition of affairs, Major Sherlock sent a dragoon to the farmers' camp, offering full and free pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, with protection of their persons and properties, inviting them at the same time to make him acquainted with their real grievances, which would be redressed by the government. He demanded a positive and immediate answer. The farmers, being informed that Mr. Maynier was no longer in power, at once sent Field-cornet Erasmus and Jacobus Kruger to state that they had no complaint against the government, but were in arms solely to drive the late commissioner away. Several of them followed the messengers into the British camp, others went back to their farms without delay, and before nightfall on the 30th all had dispersed and the insurrection was at an end. On that day one hundred and forty-seven Hottentots came in and enlisted as soldiers.

A commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickens and Messrs. Acheson Maxwell and Clement Matthiessen, was appointed to investigate the complaints against Mr. Maynier. These were drawn up by a friendly hand in the form of a series of accusations, and the document was so worded that the real points at issue between him and the farmers did not appear, as indeed they could not without being regarded as attacks upon the government also. Many of the charges were made by British officers for neglect of duty in withholding information, in overcharging the government in certain transactions, and in oppressing coloured people, which could be

proved groundless without the slightest difficulty. One, that he had incited the Hottentots and Kaffirs to rob and murder the Europeans, was preposterous. Another, that he had applied district funds to his own purposes, was easily shown to be false, and in that respect no one could have been more scrupulous. And so with the other charges that were laid before the commission.

But there in that vast district called Graaff-Reinet were hordes of Kaffir intruders, who with their wild Hottentot allies were plundering the farmers in every direction. The government employed no force to keep them in order. That they should be driven back to their own country was the first wish of the white people, but Mr. Maynier maintained that this would be cruel even if it were possible. Such being the case, the farmers held the rough border law to be the next best course, the recognised law of the Kaffirs themselves, to make the clan responsible for thefts committed by its members, and to seize by force an equivalent for stolen cattle. Mr. Maynier would not permit this, and spoke and wrote of it as if it originated in a bloodthirsty desire to murder the innocent and take violent possession of their property. He permitted robbers caught in the act to be shot, but no others, as if it was possible to surprise one thief out of one hundred, and as if every individual in a kraal did not know of the thief's movements and participate in his booty. Then he promised them protection, and when they applied for it, he sent half a dozen pandours to their aid, the greatest insult he could offer them and the greatest mockery of their distress. Nothing whatever appeared of this in the list of accusations, though it was the real substance of the farmers' complaints.

So in June 1802 the commission acquitted Mr. Maynier of all the charges brought against him, and decided that he had conducted himself upon every occasion as an upright and honest man. While the investigation was pending, he had been suspended from acting as a member of the high court of justice; but upon his acquittal he was requested to resume that duty, and soon afterwards was awarded by General

Dundas a sum of one thousand pounds from the colonial treasury as compensation for his losses and expenses.

The government now saw fit to attempt to reduce to order the Hottentots who were roaming about the country. An arrangement was made with the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, who was residing in the village of Graaff-Reinet, that a location should be provided for as many of the Hottentots as might choose to settle in it, where he could carry on mission work among them. On the 27th of November 1801 instructions were issued to Landdrost Bresler to select a suitable site for a temporary location near Algoa Bay. The government undertook to send a supply of rice and other provisions for the maintenance of the Hottentots until they could obtain food from gardens, and to furnish them with seed wheat and implements for cultivating the ground.

The landdrost selected the farm once occupied by Theunis Botha, on the Zwartkops river; and Dr. Vanderkemp, having collected a large number of Hottentots at Graaff-Reinet, left that village with them to proceed to the place appointed. On the way many of them deserted, but he reached the location with several hundred women and children and a few men.

At the same time two hundred burghers of Swellendam were summoned to take the field under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, for the purpose of assisting the people of Graaff-Reinet to recover the cattle that had been stolen from them and to punish the marauders who would not consent to retire to the location. Instead of two hundred, only eighty-eight appeared at the appointed time, and six of these deserted immediately. Leaving sixteen men to guard a camp which he formed at Winterhoek, with the remaining sixty-six Van der Walt marched to Roodewal, beyond the Sunday river, where on the 13th of February 1802 he attacked a kraal of the banditti. In the combat one of his sons received a mortal wound. The thoughts of the dying man turned to his home and to her who would soon be his widow. The brave old commandant bade the youth—who was only twenty-one years of age—take comfort in the assurance that God would provide for her,

then hastily offering up a short prayer, he proceeded with his duty. The robbers were beaten, and twelve firelocks, two hundred head of horned cattle, and five horses were taken as spoil.

After the action Van der Walt tried to return to his camp, but found the Sunday river so full that he could not cross. On its bank he was in turn attacked by the banditti, who were led by Klaas Stuurman. For a day and a half he stood on the defensive, during which time three Hottentots were killed. Stuurman then sent to propose peace on condition that the farmers should restore the cattle and guns captured by them on the 13th, and that the Hottentots should engage to cease from roaming about and plundering. Van der Walt agreed to these terms, and everything was given up; but an hour afterwards the Hottentots attacked him again. By this time the river was fordable, and as the burghers were too few in number to keep the field, they returned to the camp at Winterhoek, losing one man on the way. On the 23rd the puny force was disbanded.

The whole colony was now in a state of alarm. It was feared that the Hottentot soldiers would desert and join their countrymen, and any trifling event was sufficient to cause a panic. Thus on the 18th of April, as the reverend Mr. Vos, who was about to proceed to Europe, was preaching his farewell sermon in the church at Roodezand to an audience in which were some five hundred men, an alarm was given that a party of Hottentots was in sight. There was a rush from the building, and in the frantic haste to get out the windows were broken open. The Hottentots were found to be a company of pandours sent to patrol the district, but this was not calculated to allay the fear of the people.

On the 15th of December 1801 intelligence was received at the Cape that preliminary articles of peace between France and England had been signed at London on the 1st of October, and that the restoration of the colony to the Netherlands—then the Batavian Republic—was one of the conditions. General

Dundas was therefore anxious that the country should assume such an appearance of order as would allow of its transfer with credit to the British authorities. To bring this about, attempts were renewed in March and April to induce the Hottentots to settle at the location on the Zwartkops river; and, when these failed, efforts were made to get a burgher force together.

On the 7th of May a proclamation was issued by the acting governor, requiring the whole of the farmers of the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet to take the field on the 1st of June against the Hottentot and Xosa marauders. The latter had recently been unusually active. Tjaart van der Walt was to lead the burgher force, though operations were to be directed by Major Francis Sherlock, the officer in command of the garrison at the village of Graaff-Reinet.

At this time so great was the distress of the frontier farmers that many were in want of the barest necessaries of life, and the government, fearing that actual starvation was imminent, sent a quantity of rice to Algoa Bay to be distributed among them.

On learning that a large force was being assembled, Klaas Stuurman applied to the government, through the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, to know on what terms his submission would be accepted. General Dundas replied on the 28th of May, requesting Dr. Vanderkemp to inform Stuurman and the other captains that unless the Hottentots would consent to the following conditions, their kraals on the Sunday river would be attacked by the commando:

1. They were to make complete restitution of all the stolen cattle that were still alive. The cattle were to be sent to Fort Frederick to be restored to their owners by Major Lemoine.

2. They were to surrender at Fort Frederick all the arms and ammunition in their possession.

3. The men were then either to enlist as soldiers, to engage themselves to the farmers, or to take up their residence at the mission station, as they might choose.

4. All the Hottentots of either sex at the mission station

would be fed and sustained by the government for one year, and none would be molested for past conduct except the actual murderers of two families named Naude and Van Rooyen, who were excluded from the general pardon. They would be supplied free of cost with ground, farming implements, and seed corn.

The operations of the commando were suspended until Dr. Vanderkemp could communicate the result of this offer, but as Stuurman and the other captains rejected it, in June 1802 the burgher forces under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt attacked the combined Xosa and Hottentot hordes, who were posted in thickets along the Sunday river. During eight weeks there was almost constant skirmishing, in which the burghers suffered some losses, but about two hundred and thirty of the marauders were killed, and thirteen thousand one hundred head of horned cattle were recovered and sent to Bruintjes Hoogte for distribution.

On the 8th of August, however, the tide of fortune turned. On that day, in an action at the Kouga hills, between the Baviaans' Kloof and Kouga rivers, Commandant Tjaart van der Walt was shot dead. Never was the loss of a single individual more fatal to the success of an enterprise. Every one, from General Dundas to the poorest burgher, had felt the utmost confidence in the tact and skill of the commandant. There was but one opinion as to his high moral character, his bravery, and his devotion to duty. When he fell, Philip Rudolph Botha, the next burgher officer in rank, became commandant, and early on the following morning he ordered a retreat eastward through the country that had previously been cleared of the enemy. In great confusion the commando marched to the Bushman's river, and on the 14th of August the burghers composing it dispersed and set out for their homes.

Upon intelligence of Van der Walt's death and the dispersion of the commando reaching Capetown, General Dundas immediately repaired to the frontier, taking Mr. Honoratus Maynier with him. General Vandeleur was left in command in Cape-

town. Mr. Maynier was sent to the Hottentots to try to induce them to lay down their arms, but he succeeded only with seven petty captains, who with their people were conducted overland to the seat of government, where they were maintained at the public expense until the transfer of the colony.

On the 10th of September there was a conference of military officers, under the presidency of General Dundas, at Fort Frederick. Landdrost Bresler was present, and took part in the proceedings. The troops were being withdrawn from the village of Graaff-Reinet, and those in Fort Frederick were on the point of leaving for Capetown, as the colony was shortly to be restored to its old masters. Some Dutch ships of war and transports with troops bound to Batavia had recently arrived in Simon's Bay, and on the 19th of August General Dundas had written to Commodore Mellissen, who commanded them, requesting that Dutch troops might be sent to Algoa Bay to relieve the English soldiers there. The commodore replied that he was not empowered to act as desired, and General Dundas had therefore resolved to leave the fort without a garrison, and to withdraw from the interior of the colony all the troops except a few dragoons who were stationed at Hagelkraal. No one could suggest any other course than again to call out a large burgher commando, and orders were therefore issued to the farmers of the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet to meet in arms at Wolvefontein on the 20th of December. Philip Rudolph Botha was appointed commandant-general, but the burghers of each district were to be under the immediate orders of their own commandants.

The Kaffirs and Hottentots had now the country along the coast from Fish River to Plettenberg's Bay entirely at their mercy. On the 15th of October a party of fugitives was overtaken in the poort between Plettenberg's Bay and the Knysna by a band of marauders under command of David Stuurman—a brother of the captain,—when three white men and one black were murdered. Their waggons were plundered, but three women and some children were spared, and after five

days' detention were set at liberty. All the farms as far west as Kaaiman's River, near the present village of George, were then laid waste.

In December there was a report that the Xosas were returning to their own country, so the commando did not assemble at the time appointed. Fresh orders were then issued by General Dundas, and in January 1803 a large burgher force took the field. The Hottentots and the Xosas were now quarrelling about the division of the spoil, and each professed a desire to be at peace with the white people. The colony was just about to change its masters, and the burghers were anxious to know what assistance they might expect from the new authorities. On the 20th of February, therefore, at the very time that the Batavian troops were being quartered in the castle of Good Hope, an arrangement was made between the commandants and the Xosa chiefs that neither should molest the other, that the Xosas should return to their own country as soon as they could, and that in the mean time they should not trespass beyond the Zuurveld. The Hottentot captains promised to abstain from vagrancy and robbery, on condition of not being attacked. As soon as these arrangements were made the burghers were disbanded.

Owing to the devastation of the district of Graaff-Reinet and the great loss of live stock in the western part of the colony during the long drought, it was so difficult to obtain slaughter cattle that the commission for procuring grain and regulating its supply thought it expedient, with the acting governor's consent, to send an expedition at the public expense to the country north of the Orange river, to endeavour to procure a number of oxen there. For a generation past vague accounts had been received of the people now known as the Betshuana, then usually called by the Hottentot term Briquas. There is no doubt that the southern Betshuana tribes had often been visited by European hunters and traders, but these men did not choose to make their discoveries known, and either kept silent or gave incorrect accounts of their travels. The first authentic information concerning the people north of the

Orange and east of the Kalahari was obtained by the party now sent to them for trading purposes.

The expedition was under the joint command of Mr. Pieter Jan Truter, a member of the high court of justice, and Dr. William Somerville, who had been appointed assistant commissioner of Graaff-Reinet when Mr. Maynier's health broke down, and who remained in that capacity until April 1801. With Mr. Maynier Dr. Somerville had visited Gaika in November 1799, and while he held office on the frontier was frequently brought into contact with Xosas, so that it was believed his knowledge of native habits would be of much service to the expedition. Both of these gentlemen are entitled to be remembered, for Mr. Truter was father-in-law of the auditor general, Mr. John Barrow, one of the most voluminous writers of his day, and Dr. Somerville was afterwards married to the justly celebrated authoress Mrs. Mary Somerville. Mr. Samuel Daniell accompanied the expedition as secretary and draughtsman. He was an artist of no mean order, and his portraits of animals—several of which were made on this occasion—are still regarded with much admiration. Mr. Pieter Borchard Borcherds, then a mere youth, went as assistant secretary. This gentleman, a son of the clergyman of Stellenbosch, nearly half a century later was magistrate of Capetown, and at an advanced age published an autobiography that presents to its readers a graphic and faithful picture of colonial life as it then was.

The only other European that left Capetown with the party was Mr. J. C. Schultz, who went as superintendent of the waggon train. There were twenty-four halfbreeds and Hottentots to tend the cattle, and four slaves to wait upon the Europeans. The caravan left Capetown on the 1st of October 1801, and passing through Roodezand and Hex River kloofs and over the Bokkeveld and the Roggeveld, on the 19th of the same month reached the northern boundary of the colony. Fresh oxen were obtained along the route by requiring the fieldcornets to demand them from the farmers, as was then customary when transport was needed for public purposes.

The travellers were joined by seven farmers from the Roggeveld—Frans and David Kruger, Jan Cloete, Jan Maritz, Caspar Snyder, Pieter Jacobs, and David Lombard—who had been required by the landdrost of the district to accompany them as an escort. On the 21st they passed the ruins of a mission station near the Zak river, once occupied by the reverend Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards, and on the 1st of November they reached the Prieska ford of the Orange river. After leaving the colonial boundary they had seen only one white man, who with his Hottentot servants was driving some cattle southward, and a few half-starved Bushmen.

At the Orange river they found the reverend Mr. Edwards and his family, who wished to proceed with them. Accompanying the missionary was a colonist named Jacob Kruger, who had been wandering about the banks of the Great river for many years. The stream was pretty high and its current was strong, but assistance in crossing it was given by some Koranas and Bushmen of mixed blood who lived in the neighbourhood, and without any serious mishap the caravan reached its northern bank. On the 7th of November the party encountered a horde of halfbreeds, Koranas, and Bushmen, with whom was a colonist named Jan Kock acting as a volunteer missionary. Another stage brought them to Rietfontein, where a number of people of the Hottentot race were collected together, and the missionaries Kicherer, Anderson, and Kramer, assisted by two young colonists—Jacobus Scholtz and Christiaan Botma—were labouring.

After travelling several days farther in the same direction the Kuruman river was reached. Here the first kraals of the Batlapin tribe of Betshuana were seen, but they were very small, and their occupants were poor. The reverend Mr. Edwards remained at this place to commence mission work, and after a few days he was joined by Jan Kock. From the Kuruman the travellers proceeded a few stages farther to Lithako, a kraal on the bank of a small stream, just below its source at the Takoon fountain. The kraal was partly occupied by a Barolong clan under a chief named Makraki,

and partly by the principal section of the Batlapin tribe, then under the government of the chief Molehabangwe. Near it were large gardens, from which the people derived the greater portion of their food. The travellers estimated that Lithako contained from ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants.

At this place they remained until the 12th of December, gathering information, but unable to procure any large number of cattle. Of the various kinds of merchandise they had with them, the Betshuana would take in payment only beads, though they received with pleasure other articles as presents. European knives they compared with those of their own manufacture to great disadvantage, because of their having only one cutting edge. Molehabangwe stated that for some years he had been subject to the attacks of a halfbreed robber named Jan Bloem, who was at the head of a Korana horde, and who not only drove off his cattle, but burned his huts and murdered his people with the utmost cruelty. Messrs Truter and Somerville wished to go on to the principal sections of the Barolong tribe farther north, but Molehabangwe, following an invariable custom with African chiefs, gave his neighbours such a bad character, and pictured so many obstacles to the journey, that they abandoned the idea.

In returning, the expedition went down the Orange river to a place on its southern bank where the halfbreed captain Adam Kok, son of Cornelis Kok, was then residing. It was hoped that a considerable number of cattle would be obtained in barter there, but only a few were acquired.

A party, consisting of halfbreeds, Namaquas, Koranas, and the followers of a petty Kaffir captain named Danser, who had wandered away from his native country, was got together at this place and provided with ammunition to attack the robber band under Afrikaner, whose usual residence was some distance farther down the river, close to Olivenhout drift. Afrikaner had carried on his depredations so extensively that he was regarded as a public enemy by all the little clans within a couple of hundred miles, as well as by the farmers on the distant colonial frontier. Adam Kok was elected leader of the

expedition against him, and Messrs. Somerville, Daniell, and Botma accompanied it until the country became so rugged that progress could only be made on foot, when they returned.

In Afrikaner's gang there was at this time a white man who went by the name of Stephanus, a Pole by birth, who had been a soldier in the Dutch East India Company's service, but had been convicted of forging paper money and had been sentenced to death. Having escaped from prison, he made his way to the banks of the Orange river, where he palmed himself off upon the Korana hordes as a religious instructor sent to them direct from heaven. Under his directions they commenced to put up a large stone building to be used as a place of worship, but never completed it. When the missionaries of the London society appeared there, this vagabond, fearing that he would be detected and sent to Capetown for punishment, joined Afrikaner's band, and shortly became a prominent member of it. Messrs. Truter and Somerville, as well as the missionaries, were anxious to have him apprehended, as a renegade European in such a situation was particularly dangerous.

The party that went against the robbers nearly succeeded in surprising them, but just as the attack was being made an alarm was given, and they managed to escape to a densely wooded island. The river at this place spreads out to a great width, and is thickly studded with islands, between which, when rain falls at the distant sources of the stream in the Kathlamba, the channels can only be crossed by those acquainted with the fords. The islands are covered with a thick growth of willow and other trees, and thus form natural fortresses of great strength. Afrikaner and the renegade Pole with the others of the band, except a couple of women and some children, therefore escaped capture, as they could not be followed to their retreat. Three hundred head of horned cattle, one hundred sheep, and two muskets, however, were secured as spoil.

Messrs. Truter and Somerville were desirous of returning by way of the Hantam, but the country in that direction was so

parched that it could not be traversed. The expedition therefore turned back at Kok's kraal, and followed the same route to the Cape that it had taken when going inland. At the Zak river a number of halfbreeds were found rebuilding the abandoned mission station, to which the reverend Mr. Kicherer intended to return. The party reached Capetown again on the 25th of April 1802, after an absence of nearly seven months. The same journey can now easily be made by train in as many days, for the farthest point reached was considerably south of the present village of Vryburg. Two hundred and twelve head of horned cattle were delivered to the government as the result of the expedition.

Messrs. Truter and Somerville brought back with them information that the Betshuana were a branch of the same race as the Xosas on the eastern frontier of the colony, but that their language and their habits were in some respects different. The Xosas were more warlike, but less skilful in manufactures. The travellers were particularly struck with the comparative comfort of the huts used by the Betshuana, and with the neatness of their skin robes. A great deal of information which they gathered has since proved to be correct, but they formed some erroneous opinions, as was indeed unavoidable when the means of communication were defective and the intercourse short.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 8th of December 1801 the residents in Capetown were startled by a crashing noise, which was caused by the fall of an enormous mass of rock in the gorge on the face of Table Mountain. No damage was done, but the fissure for a great distance was found to be strewn with fragments of stone, and its appearance was changed considerably. This was not the first instance in historical times of heavy masses of rock becoming detached at the top of the mountain. In a great storm on the 10th of July 1695 stones of enormous size rolled down, and on the 16th of September 1699 there was a fall of rock accompanied with a great noise. Again, on the 27th of May 1760, during a violent storm, many rocks rolled far into Table Valley, and

much damage was caused to the gardens of Jacob van Reenen and the widow Eksteen on the Rondebosch side by the huge stones that lodged in them. After 1801 there was no fall of any consequence until the 6th of June 1830. About half an hour before noon on that day the people of Capetown were startled by a heavy rumbling noise, which at first was believed to be caused by an earthquake. They rushed out of their houses in great alarm, when the noise was found to proceed from the descent of immense rocks from the face of the mountain.

During this period there is not much to be related concerning church matters. No new congregations except that of Swellendam were formed, and in 1803 several of the old ones were without pastors. The reverend Mr. Kuys, of Capetown, died in January 1799, and the reverend Mr. Aling, of Drakenstein, in May 1800. In January 1802 the reverend Mr. Von Manger was removed from Swellendam to Capetown, and in April of that year he was succeeded at Swellendam by the reverend Mr. Ballot. In February 1803 the churches of Drakenstein, Roodezand, and Graaff-Reinet were without other clergymen than consulents, the reverend Messrs. Serrurier, Fleck, and Von Manger were in Capetown, the reverend Mr. Borcherds was at Stellenbosch, the reverend Mr. Van der Spuy was at Zwartland, and the reverend Mr. Ballot was at Swellendam. In the Lutheran church in Capetown the vacancy caused by the death of the reverend Mr. Kolver was filled in February 1799 by the temporary appointment of the reverend Johan Haas, who called here in a Danish ship. He remained as acting clergyman until September 1800, when the reverend Mr. Hesse arrived from England with the permanent appointment. A clergyman of the church of England was stationed in Capetown as chaplain to the troops, but there was no congregation formed other than military, though some of the officers of government and several merchants attended the services.

Capetown at this time contained a population of between sixteen and seventeen thousand souls, European and coloured.

The only public building in the city which still remains as a memorial of the first English occupation of the colony is St. Stephen's church in Riebeek-square. It was put up by a company for a theatre, and during half a century was used for that purpose; but was then purchased by the reverend George Stegmann of the Evangelical Lutheran communion and was turned into a mission church and schoolroom. In 1857 Mr. Stegmann and his congregation united with the Dutch reformed church, with which St. Stephen's has been connected since that date.

One peculiarity of earlier years disappeared, when in December 1801 the windmills were sold by the burgher senate, and private individuals were permitted to grind corn for themselves or for others.

On the 27th of March 1802 a definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain on the one side, and France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic on the other, was signed at Amiens, in which it was stipulated that the Cape Colony should be restored to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty, as before the war. The transfer was to take place within three months after the ratification of the treaty. The old Dutch East India Company had disappeared. On the 1st of March 1796 the assembly of seventeen was replaced by a commission of the states-general termed the committee for the East Indian trade and possessions, and this again in 1800 was superseded by a council for the Asiatic possessions and establishments.

The states-general resolved that the executive and legislative authority of the colony should be entrusted to a governor and a council of four members, at least one of whom should be by birth or long residence a colonist. The governor was to be also commander-in-chief of the troops. His salary was to be £4,166 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, and that of each of the councillors £833 6*s.* 8*d.* The high court of justice was to be independent of the executive and legislative authority. It was to consist of a president and six members, all of them versed in law and unconnected with parties in the colony. A secretary was to be attached to the court, and there was to be an attorney-

general to conduct public prosecutions. Trade between the colony and the possessions of the Batavian Republic everywhere was to be unrestricted, except that for revenue purposes customs duties of three per cent. upon the value of articles of commerce were to be levied. The colony was not to be subject to any control from Java, but was to be a direct dependency of the Netherlands. With these general principles as a foundation, the task of drawing up a plan of government was entrusted to Mr. Jacob Abraham de Mist, an advocate of high standing and a member of the council for the Asiatic possessions and establishments.

The document drawn up by Mr. De Mist gave such satisfaction that he was appointed commissioner-general to receive the colony from the English, instal the Dutch officials, and make such regulations for the government as he might find necessary. A very able military officer and man of high moral worth—Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens—was appointed governor, and a staff of subordinate officials was selected. Three commissioners—Messrs. A. Muller, R. de Klerk Dibbetz, and J. F. Benay—were directed to proceed to the colony and make arrangements for the reception of the troops destined for a garrison.

These commissioners arrived in Simon's Bay on the 12th of August, and on the same day an English frigate brought official intelligence of the signing of the treaty of Amiens and the first despatches from the secretary of state received during ten months.

On the 5th of August Mr. De Mist and General Janssens with a staff of officers sailed from Texel in the *Bato*, one of the ships of war belonging to a fleet under Commodore Dekker, destined for the Cape of Good Hope and India. Some transports with troops and some storeships sailed at the same time, others followed a little later. The troops selected to form the garrison of the colony consisted of the twenty-second and twenty-third battalions of infantry, each seven hundred and sixty-four men in strength, the ninth battalion of jagers, four hundred and twenty strong, the fifth battalion of artillery,

four hundred and twelve strong, a squadron of two hundred and six light dragoons, and the fifth battalion of Waldeck, five hundred and eighty-four strong, altogether, officers and men, three thousand one hundred and fifty souls.

The *Bato* arrived in Table Bay on the 23rd of December, and next morning the commissioner-general took up his quarters in the castle, where he was at once waited upon by the principal residents in Capetown. Two members of the council and six of the judges of the high court landed at the same time. Only thirteen hundred of the Batavian troops arrived before the end of December, and these were disembarked and quartered in the barracks.

Meantime a great part of the British garrison had left the colony. In February and March 1801 the sixty-fifth regiment of the line had arrived to replace the sixty-first, which proceeded to the Red sea in a squadron commanded by Sir Home Popham, to assist in operations against the French in Egypt. Eighty-five of the eighth light dragoons and a company of artillerymen accompanied the sixty-first. After that date there were no changes, so that when the treaty of Amiens was signed the garrison of the Cape consisted of the eighth light dragoons, the twenty-second, thirty-fourth, sixty-fifth, eighty-first, and ninety-first regiments of infantry, and rather over two hundred artillerymen. Instructions were then sent to General Dundas to draft men from the eighty-first to complete the twenty-second, thirty-fourth, and sixty-fifth to their full strength, and to forward these three regiments and the eighth light dragoons to India. The other troops were to return to England.

Accordingly two ships were chartered to take home all the invalids, and they left early in December with three hundred and ninety-six men, thirty-six women, and forty children. Several men of war homeward bound from India called at the Cape in December, and advantage was taken of them to send the eighty-first—then a skeleton regiment—and about two hundred and forty of the 91st to England. In ships of the East India Company and others chartered at the Cape two thousand three hundred and ninety-six men, one hundred and

seventeen women, and one hundred and thirteen children were sent to India between the 13th of September and the 9th of December.

There remained in the colony to be embarked at the time of the transfer of the government one hundred and thirty-one officers and men of the eighth light dragoons, five hundred and nineteen of the thirty-fourth, and eight hundred and forty-one of the sixty-fifth, with fifty-one women and fifty-one children, destined for India, and two hundred and eight artillerymen and engineers and about three hundred men of the ninety-first, with a few women and children, destined for England.

The British fleet on the station at the end of 1802 consisted of eight ships. The *Star* had been sent home in August 1801, the *Adamant* had followed her a month later, and the *Imperieuse* in April 1802. The *Euphrosyne* had just been disarmed and sold. The *Tremendous*, *Lancaster*, *Jupiter*, *Braave*, *Rattlesnake*, *Diomede*, *Penguin*,—a sloop of war which had arrived in May 1801,—and the *Hindostan*,—a storeship that had been attached to the squadron when the *Adamant* was withdrawn,—were in Table Bay waiting to take troops and the British officials on board.

The Batavian fleet in South African waters consisted of the *Pluto*, *Kortenaar*, and *Bato*, ships of the line, but very deficient in cannon, one frigate, two corvettes, and an armed transport.

It was arranged by Commissary General De Mist and Lieutenant General Dundas that the English guards should be relieved by Batavian soldiers in the evening of the 31st of December, and that the Batavian flag should be hoisted at the castle on the morning of the 1st of January 1803. There were four outward bound Indiamen that had been fitted up as transports lying in Table Bay, and the complement of men assigned to two of them—the *Ocean* and *Henry Addington*—had already embarked. About five hundred men of the sixty-fifth were encamped at Wynberg, ready to go on board the other two—the *Lord Duncan* and *Castle Eden*—the next morning. The artillerymen and the men of the ninety-first were on guard in the castle and outworks. Most of the salted provisions had

been sent to New South Wales, and the other military and naval stores of all kinds had either been sold or shipped. A proclamation releasing the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance to the king of England was already in the printer's hands, and nearly all the accounts connected with the transfer had been closed, when at noon on the 31st of December the British sloop of war *Imogen* dropped her anchor in Table Bay. An officer at once went on shore, and found General Dundas and Admiral Curtis at lunch with the Batavian Commissioner-General. The English officials withdrew to read the despatches he handed to them, and found they contained instructions from the secretary of state, dated on the 17th of October, to delay the transfer of the colony, but to do all that was possible to avoid irritating the Batavian officials.

Orders were instantly issued for the troops at Wynberg to take possession of the blockhouses on the Devil's peak and to strengthen the guard at Craig's tower without a moment's delay, while the troops in the two Indiamen were hurried into boats on the offshore side of the ships, and were landed on the jetty close to the castle before anyone else suspected that the arrangements agreed upon were being disturbed. At half past two in the afternoon General Dundas informed Mr. De Mist of the orders he had received, and at the same time General Janssens was made acquainted with them.

Both parties were now in a difficult position. The British general had two thousand effective soldiers, armed and in possession of the forts, under his command, while the Batavian general had only thirteen hundred men in the barracks, some of whom were without arms. The British fleet also was stronger than that of the Batavian Republic. But among the colonists, the vast majority of whom were enthusiastic in their attachment to the Batavian cause, were many who urged Mr. De Mist and General Janssens to try to obtain by arms that which by the terms of the treaty of Amiens they were clearly entitled to. Those gentlemen, however, were too prudent and too humane to countenance any wild design of that nature. The commissioner-general delivered a formal protest against

any delay in the transfer of the colony, in which he declared that he held Great Britain responsible for all damages and expenses the Batavian Republic might suffer in consequence of the breach of the terms of the treaty, and then he and his colleague exerted all their influence with the colonists towards the preservation of order.

An arrangement was made that the Batavian troops should camp out under canvas on a plain near Rondebosch, which from that circumstance has ever since been known as the campground. Mr. De Mist remained at the castle, but General Janssens and the Dutch officials took up their residence with the troops. On the 2nd of January General Dundas issued a proclamation, declaring martial law in force, forbidding assemblages of people, and prohibiting the removal of families from the town to the country.

Matters remained in suspense until the 19th of February, when his Majesty's ship *Concord* brought a despatch from the secretary of state, dated the 16th of November 1802, instructing General Dundas to transfer the colony at once. At half past seven in the evening this was communicated to the commissioner-general, and next day several companies of Batavian troops marched from the campground and took up their quarters in the castle.

On Sunday the 20th of February a proclamation was issued by General Dundas releasing the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, and at sunset of the same day the English guards at the castle and forts were relieved by Dutch soldiers. Next morning the Batavian flag was hoisted on the castle and was saluted by the ships of war in the bay.

The troops destined for India were embarked in the four transports which were in waiting, and sailed on the 23rd of February. Preparations for the voyage home and the final settlement of accounts with the new government detained General Dundas a few days longer.

The principal charge by the Batavian against the British authorities was on account of paper money that had been

created and put in circulation since September 1795. General Craig had issued notes to the amount of £50,000 to purchase supplies for his troops. General Dundas, on the 1st of January 1802, had increased the paper in circulation by £56,000, of which a sum of £20,000 was added to the capital of the loan bank, the interest of which was to be applied to keeping the streets of Capetown in order, another sum of £20,000 was advanced to a committee to lay in a supply of wheat to provide against famine in the town, and the balance of £16,000 was advanced to the same committee to purchase rice for a like purpose. The £20,000 created for the purchase of wheat was destroyed when the wheat was sold; but another amount of £13,000 was added to the capital of the loan bank, so that the paper currency was increased during the British administration by four hundred and ninety-five thousand rix-dollars, or £99,000. The greater part of the rice purchased with the £16,000 created for the purpose was still in the military magazines, and an officer was left behind to sell it as soon as possible. Of the other items, the only one which the British authorities could be expected to pay was the issue by General Craig. To that amount—£50,000—property was transferred to the new government.

It looks strange to one who does not reflect upon the changes which the present century has seen to find the government slaves included in this property. After the surrender of the colony in September 1795 the slaves belonging to the Dutch East India Company, four hundred and fifty-eight in number, great and small, were claimed by the army and navy as prize. The claim was admitted, and the slaves were purchased for his Majesty's service at £30 a head all round. The number had dwindled to three hundred and sixty-five in 1803, and these were now transferred to the Batavian authorities at the same rate. The balance of the claim was settled with stores of different kinds, munitions of war, and cavalry horses.

On the 2nd of March the troops destined for England were embarked in the *Diomede, Jupiter, Braave,* and *Hindostan.* The English civil officials and their families were also taken

on board these ships. Mr. John Pringle, who represented the English East India Company, was left as British agent at the Cape, Mr. William Maude remained in charge of the salted provisions that could not be sent to New South Wales, Major McNab remained to complete the transfer of some articles, and seventy or eighty other British residents in Capetown preferred to stay where they were. Mr. Duckitt, the former head of the agricultural department, and all those who accompanied him to South Africa had become so much attached to the country that they resolved not to leave it.

On the afternoon of the 4th of March General Dundas embarked in the *Diomede*, and on the following day the fleet sailed. When out of sight of land the *Tremendous* and *Lancaster* were directed to proceed to India to join Vice Admiral Rainier there. The *Rattlesnake* had previously been sent to the same destination, and the *Penguin* had proceeded in advance to England with despatches. On the 27th of May the remaining ships reached St. Helen's roads, after learning on the 24th that war had commenced again, and having with them a valuable French prize captured in the Channel a few hours before they dropped anchor.

So ended the first British occupation of the Cape Colony, which the English people had hoped would be permanent, for the position of the country made its acquirement a matter of the highest importance to the rulers of India. But as yet the naval superiority of Great Britain was not completely assured, and the great successes of the French on land made the abandonment of this and some other conquests necessary to secure breathing time in which to prepare for another struggle.

In the colony itself the effect of the English administration was almost imperceptible. It was supposed indeed in England that the Dutch people of South Africa were so impressed by the benefits they had received as to be more than willing to abandon their connection with the Netherlands and become British subjects, but there was no real ground for such a confidence. It arose from the professions of a few individuals in Capetown, who were out of sympathy with the vast majority

of their countrymen, and who had been personal gainers by English rule. The interests of the town and of the country were often conflicting, and if the urban inhabitants were more polished, they were also more fickle and more liable to be guided by purely selfish reasons.

To produce an effect there must be a cause. Setting aside the few individuals within the official circle, what cause had the South African colonists in 1803 for attachment to Great Britain? They had not gained under her rule in freedom of speech, in freedom of movement, or to any great extent in freedom of trade. What the government needed it demanded, at its own price, just as did the old Dutch East India Company, and it had more effective means for enforcing its demands. With a very large part of the country lying waste from the devastations of barbarian intruders, with hundreds of families reduced to the direst poverty, no one could say in truth that they had gained in protection. They had a larger market for their produce, but it unfortunately happened that during a considerable portion of the first English period the seasons were so bad that there was little or nothing to sell. A so-called senate, composed entirely of burghers, instead of mixed burghers and officials, was a gain, but its power was extremely limited. That, the reform in the method of paying civil servants, relief from the irritating auction tax on petty amounts, and the abolition of a few monopolies, such as the sale of meat, combined with the better market, surely did not form sufficient cause to turn the affections of the people from their own mother country to another land where sympathy with them was entirely wanting. Thus they remained with their old ideas, virtues, and failings unchanged when they came again under the Netherlands flag.

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CHAPTER IV.

JACOB ABRAHAM DE MIST, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL, 21ST FEBRUARY 1803 TO 25TH SEPTEMBER 1804.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JAN WILLEM JANSSENS, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 1ST MARCH 1803, CAPITULATED TO AN ENGLISH ARMY 18TH JANUARY 1806.

THE 1st of March 1803 was observed as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the restoration of the colony to its ancient owners. In the morning service was held in all the churches, and at noon the commissioner De Mist installed Lieutenant-General Janssens as governor. The ceremony took place in the hall of the castle of Good Hope, in presence of a crowd of spectators. The other officials also who had arrived from Europe had their duties formally assigned to them. The member of council R. G. van Polanen had not yet reached the colony; but the other three—Roedolf Anthony de Salis, Willem Ferdinand van Reede van Oudtshoorn, and Jacobus Philippus van Medenbach Wakker—were invested with office. Jan Henoch Neethling was named as secretary, and C. H. van Hasselt as assistant secretary to the council.

One of the judges of the high court was still in Europe, as was also the secretary, Mr. Gerrit Buyskes; and the attorney-general, Mr. Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, was at sea on the passage out. The judges who were present and were sworn in were Messrs. L. C. Strubberg, E. de Man, R. van Burmania, W. Hiddingh, M. Wichers, and D. Denyssen.

The commissioner-general announced that after making himself acquainted with the circumstances of the country it would be his duty to prepare a charter, which, however, would require

to be confirmed by the states-general. An amnesty was granted to all persons confined or banished by the late government for political offences.

In the evening the principal houses in Capetown were illuminated, and a series of festivities followed.

The amnesty did not include the Graaff-Reinet farmers who had been nearly four years in prison, as they had been sentenced by a court of law. But they were not left long in doubt concerning their fate. Adriaan van Jaarsveld had died in confinement. The others were set free on the 30th of March.

The landdrosts, secretaries, and in general all the clerks who had held office during the English administration retained their appointments. So did the collector of tithes and the wine tax, Christoffel Brand, and the receiver-general of revenue, Arend de Waal, who had succeeded Mr. Rhenius in April 1797. Mr. J. P. Baumgardt had left the country on its transfer to its old masters, and in his stead as collector of land revenue Mr. De Mist appointed Sebastiaan Valentyn van Reenen, who had suffered losses under the late administration by being detained for a time in arrest on suspicion of having communicated with the Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas.

The burgher senate was enlarged to seven members, but in the following year was reduced to five. Those now chosen were Cornelis van der Poel, Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Anthony Berrange, Pieter van Breda, Jan Andries Horak, Jacobus Johannes Vos, and Jan Adriaan Vermaak. Cajus Jesse Slotsboo was appointed secretary. After the reduction in number took place, the senate consisted of a president and four members. At the end of every year one retired, when a list of four names was furnished to the governor, from which to select a successor. At the same time the governor appointed one of them to act as president during the ensuing twelvemonth.

On the 3rd of April Governor Janssens left Capetown to visit the eastern part of the colony, and ascertain how matters were standing with the white people, the Xosas, and the

Hottentots. At Fort Frederick he found Dr. Vanderkemp and the Hottentots under his care, who had abandoned Botha's farm some time before. Upon close inquiry he learned that many of these people who had once been in service with farmers had good reason of complaint on the ground of ill-treatment. He fully approved of the plan contemplated by General Dundas, of assigning a tract of land for their use, where they could be under the guidance of missionaries; and he offered for this purpose any vacant ground that was available. A commission, consisting of the commandants Botha and Van Rooyen, Mr. Dirk van Reenen, and Mr. Gerrit Oosthuizen, was thereupon appointed by the governor to act in conjunction with the reverend James Read, Dr. Vanderkemp's nominee, in selecting a suitable place. They chose a tract of land about six thousand seven hundred morgen in extent, lying along the Little Zwartkops river, between the loan farms of Thomas Ferreira and the widow Scheepers. On the 31st of May the governor gave his formal consent in writing to the occupation of this place by the Hottentots under supervision of missionaries of the London society, and at Dr. Vanderkemp's request named it Bethelsdorp. The permission thus given was confirmed by Mr. De Mist a few months afterwards.

One hundred and fifty men of the Waldeck regiment, under command of Major Von Gilten, had in the mean time arrived by sea, and had occupied Fort Frederick. Order could therefore be enforced in the immediate neighbourhood. The governor found it advisable to remove two farmers, who were much disliked by the Hottentots on account of their harsh conduct. Thomas Ignatius Ferreira he ordered to reside in the neighbourhood of the drostdy of Swellendam, and Jan Arend Rens he sent to Stellenbosch.

Two parties of Hottentots who had not chosen to place themselves under the guidance of missionaries were living near the Sunday river. The governor sent friendly messages to their captains, Klaas Stuurman and Boesak, the first of whom accepted an invitation to visit Fort Frederick and make his wants known. Stuurman stated that his followers were

thoroughly impoverished, and most of them would be very glad to take service with the colonists, if they could be assured of peace and good treatment. He asked for a tract of land on the left bank of the Gamtoos river, where he and his people could have their homes, while those who were so disposed could engage themselves to farmers. The governor did not immediately give a decision upon this request, as he wished Stuurman's clan to move farther westward; but he came to a friendly understanding with the captain. The past was to be forgotten on both sides, or, if it was remembered, the misdeeds of the Hottentots during the war were to be regarded as a set-off against the ill-treatment which some of them complained of having received from colonists. The Hottentots were assured of complete protection of person and property, and it was arranged that when any of them went into service a record of the terms should be kept by the landdrost, who should see that strict justice was done.

By the governor's directions, on the 9th of May an ordinance was published by the council, requiring contracts between farmers and Hottentots to be made in triplicate, upon certain prescribed forms, before an official of position, as no notice would be taken by the courts of law of complaints against servants engaged in any other manner.

On the 19th of June the governor instructed Captain Alberti, the second in command of the garrison of Fort Frederick, to select a suitable tract of land on the Gamtoos river, and give it to Stuurman for the use of his people. A great many of these in the meantime had gone into service. The captain was then away hunting buffaloes, and the next that was heard of him was that his gun had burst and shattered one of his arms, from the effects of which he died in November. His brother David Stuurman then became captain of the clan, and in February 1804 a location was assigned to him on the Gamtoos river.

Boesak and his followers wandered about for a time, but did not molest any one, and ultimately they also settled down peaceably.

When the colony was transferred, the Hottentot regiment in the British service was transferred with it to the Batavian authorities. The regiment was then quartered at Rietvlei, a farm on the Cape flats that from early times had been kept for the use of the government. There were two hundred and fifty-nine privates, thirty corporals, and seventeen drummers, drawing rations and trifling pay, and requiring to be clothed and housed. At the same place, Rietvlei, were the seven captains that Mr. Maynier had induced to remove from the Zuurveld, and who had with them one hundred and twenty-three men, two hundred and eighty-nine women, and two hundred and fifty-two children. All these were being fed at the expense of government, and their presence had a very bad effect upon the pandours. To those among them who would not enter service the governor allotted locations of ample size at some distance from the frontier, and he furnished them with a few cattle to commence stock-breeding.

By these arrangements the disturbances with the Hottentots were brought to an end.

Upon the arrival of General Janssens at Fort Frederick he sent messengers to the Xosa chiefs in the Zuurveld, inviting them to come and talk over matters with him. Ndlambe and Jalusa thereupon sent some of their councillors to declare that they wished to live in peace and friendship with the white people. Cungwa and one of the sons of Langa returned for reply that they would meet the governor on the Sunday river in five days' time, if he would be there, and that they were anxious to be on good terms with the colonists.

The governor then made arrangements for a conference with the chiefs at the place of their own selection. He was accompanied from Fort Frederick by sixty-five soldiers and thirty other attendants, and on the way was joined by Commandant Van Rensburg with one hundred and eight burghers, who came to pay their respects and express their gratification that the country had been restored to its ancient owners.

The conference took place on the 24th of May, on the eastern bank of the Sunday river. The chiefs would not

venture into the camp, which was on the opposite side of the stream, and General Janssens was obliged to leave his retinue and go across with a few officers and the burgher commandant. Ndlambe, Cungwa, Jalusa, Tshatshu, and some others of less note, with numerous attendants, were present. Klaas Stuurman and some of his people were also there.

During three days a discussion was carried on concerning a friendly arrangement between the two races. The chiefs expressed an earnest wish for peace and friendship with the white people, and there was no difficulty in settling such matters as the delivery of deserters and fugitive slaves, the mode of punishing offenders on either side, and the like. But the all-important question of the removal of the Xosas from the Zuurveld could not be arranged so easily. The chiefs admitted the Fish river as the boundary, but declared that they could not cross it through fear of Gaika. They were about to attack him, they said, and if they were victorious they would at once return to their own country, otherwise they must wait for a convenient opportunity. The governor tried to persuade them to make peace with Gaika, and after much talking all except Ndlambe expressed their willingness to do so, provided the overtures came from him. Ndlambe could not be induced to say that he would come to terms with his nephew.

As nothing more could be done, presents were made to the chiefs, who sent a couple of oxen in return; and with assurances of friendship on both sides the parties separated. The governor now issued a proclamation prohibiting the colonists from engaging Kaffirs as labourers, and ordering that all of that race who were in service should be immediately discharged unless they had been over a year with their employers and expressed a wish to remain.

The governor next proceeded to visit Gaika, from whom he had received a message requesting assistance against the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld. At the Fish river the persons whom he sent in advance to announce his intention brought him back intelligence that they had been received in a very friendly manner

and Coenraad du Buis came as the chief's confidant to welcome him and request him to go on to the Kat river.

On the 24th of June the governor had a conference with Gaika, at which a formal agreement of friendship was entered into. The Fish river was declared to be the boundary between the two races, and the chief promised that none of his followers except official messengers should cross it. He gave an assurance that if the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld would return to their own country he would not molest them, but he declined positively to make overtures of peace to Ndlambe. He consented to expel the European renegades who were living with his people, but desired to make an exception in favour of Coenraad du Buis. That individual, however, promised the governor that he would return to the colony, and a few months later he kept his word. As for the others, several were delivered to the colonial authorities and were placed where they could be watched, eight or ten fled to distant tribes, and one—Jan Botha—was murdered by Ndlambe's people.

From the Kat river, General Janssens proceeded to the northern border of the colony, to ascertain the condition of the white people and the Bushmen. At Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river a messenger met him with a despatch announcing that on the 12th of May, less than three months after the restoration of the colony, war had broken out again between Great Britain and France. The Batavian Republic was so closely allied with the latter power as necessarily to share its fortunes. The governor therefore hastened back to Capetown, without being able to do more than gather what information could be obtained in a very rapid journey.

It was now resolved to reduce the garrison of Fort Frederick to half the strength at first intended. Captain Lodewyk Alberti, who was about to take over the command from Major Von Gilten, was instructed to continue urging the Xosas in the Zuurveld to cross the Fish river without delay. In August that officer made a tour among them for this purpose, but was unsuccessful. In the following month Cungwa came to terms with Gaika, and promised Captain Alberti to leave the colony

as soon as his crops were gathered. Ndlambe's people at this time were making gardens on the western side of the Bushman's river, though the chief had undertaken not to do so. Parties of them were roaming about lifting cattle wherever they could find an unprotected herd. The war between them and Gaika's clan was being carried on actively, and Kawūta had been applied to again for assistance, but declined to give it.

Soon after this another combination was formed. Cungwa and Jalusa joined Gaika, and together they attacked Ndlambe in the Zuurveld, but did not succeed in dislodging him. The belt of land along the coast east of the Bushman's river was thus kept from being reoccupied by the farmers, but the remaining portion of the district of Graaff-Reinet was in a fair condition of tranquillity.

Upon learning of the renewal of hostilities in Europe, General Janssens devoted all his attention to putting the Cape peninsula in a condition for defence, and to the increase of his military strength. But soon instructions were received from Holland that he must send his best regiment, the twenty-third battalion of infantry, to Batavia, as the mother country was unable to furnish more men, and troops were urgently needed in Java. In February 1804 this regiment left South Africa. The governor did what he could to make up for its loss, by increasing the Hottentot corps first to five hundred, and soon afterwards to six hundred men. But to the burghers he looked chiefly for the defence of the colony, if it should be attacked.

On the 29th of September 1803 the salted provisions belonging to the British government that had been left in Capetown under charge of Mr. Maude were seized. There was in Mr. Pringle's hands a sum of £11,351 in money, the proceeds of the sale of rice, and this also was confiscated. It proved very serviceable, as the funds in the treasury were low. Mr. De Mist brought with him from Holland £8,333 in money and £33,333 in bills of exchange, but that was nearly all expended, and, except for the mainten-

ance of the troops, nothing could be expected from Europe after the renewal of the war. The yearly average of the colonial revenue from January 1803 to January 1806 was only three hundred and sixty-nine thousand six hundred and thirty-eight rixdollars, equal at the estimated rate of exchange to £61,606.

On the 9th of October the commissioner-general left Capetown for the purpose of making a tour through the colony and becoming acquainted with the condition and wants of the people. He took with him a number of attendants and a military escort, so that the train had quite an imposing appearance. Proceeding first in a northerly direction, he visited Saldanha and St. Helena bays; then turning inland, he passed through Pikenier's Kloof, and kept onward to the Hantam. From the Hantam he made his way over the Roggeveld and the Bokkeveld to the land of Waveren—now the Tulbagh basin,—where he remained some days to refresh his cattle. He then kept down the valley of the Breede river, and after passing the site of the present village of Worcester he turned to the south to visit the Moravian mission station in Baviaans' Kloof.

More people were residing at that station than at any other place in the colony except Capetown, but it had still no distinctive name, for there were several Baviaans' Kloofs in the country. It was only on the 1st of January 1806 that General Janssens confirmed the name Genadendal—Vale of Grace—which the missionaries at his request had just previously given to it. At the time of Mr. De Mist's visit, there were nearly eleven hundred people attached to the mission. They occupied about two hundred wattle-and-daub cottages, small and scantily furnished, but a great advance upon Hottentot huts. Each little cottage stood in a garden, in which vegetables and fruit trees of various kinds were growing. There was an air of order and neatness over the whole place, and marks of industry were apparent on all sides. The most thriving of the residents were naturally the halfbreeds, many of whom had really comfortable homes; but even the pure

Hottentots had made advances towards civilisation. Some of the men belonging to the station were away in service with farmers, but at stated intervals they returned to their families with their earnings. There were five missionaries, two—Rose and Korhammer by name—having come from Europe in 1799 to assist the three who founded the station. They were living in plain but comfortable houses. They and their wives were all engaged during stated hours of the day in teaching industrial occupations, and in the evening the whole community assembled in a large and neat building to join in the worship of God. The missionaries, having power to expel unruly persons from the place, maintained strict discipline among the Hottentots; but it was the kind of discipline that parents enforce upon children, tempered by love and interest in their welfare. Nothing more admirable than this excellent institution could be imagined, and Mr. De Mist and the officers of his train had a difficulty in finding words to express their pleasure and satisfaction with what they saw.

From the Moravian village the commissioner-general went eastward through Swellendam to Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay. Here he was visited by the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, with whom he had been acquainted in Holland thirty-five years before. Dr. Vanderkemp was dressed in coat, trousers, and sandals; but was without shirt, neckcloth, socks, or hat. In a burning sun he travelled about bareheaded and thus strangely attired. Yet his conversation was rational, and his memory was perfectly sound. He had formed an opinion that to convert the Hottentots to Christianity it was necessary to descend in style of living nearly to their level, to be their companion as well as their teacher, and being thoroughly in earnest he was putting his views into practice.

Mr. De Mist and his party visited the London society's station of Bethelsdorp, where Dr. Vanderkemp and the reverend Mr. Read were residing. They found no indication of industry of any kind, no garden—though it was then the planting season,—nothing but a number of wretched huts on a bare plain, with people lying about in filth and indolence. The

Hottentots having settled there so recently, it was not to be expected that the place would present the appearance of Genadendal, and Mr. De Mist was well aware that the London missionaries were not in as favourable a position as the Moravian brethren. They had to deal with a wild people, who had been less than a quarter of a century in contact with Europeans, and to whom expulsion from the station would be no punishment. The Moravians, on the other hand, were working with people who had grown up among farmers, who could appreciate the advantage of a fixed residence, and who were accustomed to the use of such food as could be derived from gardens and orchards. It was not therefore the absence of improvement that gave Mr. De Mist and those who were with him an unfavourable impression of Bethelsdorp, but the absence of any effort to induce the Hottentots to adopt industrious habits, and the profession of principles that tended to degrade one race without raising the other. The missionaries themselves were living in the same manner as the Hottentots, and were so much occupied with teaching religious truths that they entirely neglected temporal matters. Dr. Vanderkemp was loud in complaints against the colonists in the neighbourhood, because they gave nothing towards the maintenance of the station, as he held it was their duty to do, and because they often tried to induce some of the people to leave the school and enter into service. More with a view of keeping the Hottentots out of mischief than with any expectation of this institution becoming useful, the commissioner-general made a small grant of money from the colonial treasury towards the funds of the place, and added to the gift some sensible advice.

From Bethelsdorp Mr. De Mist and his train travelled north-eastward through the Zuurveld. They found parties of Xosas wandering about the country begging and making themselves a nuisance to such colonists as had returned to the devastated farms, but not committing any open hostilities. Messengers were sent to Ndlambe, Cungwa, and Jalusa, to invite them to a conference on the Bushman's river; but they did not appear,

and it was not found possible to meet them. A messenger was also sent to Gaika, who appointed a place for an interview, but on Mr. De Mist's arrival he was not there. One of his councillors appeared instead, and requested the commissioner-general to proceed still farther, as the chief was anxious to see the great captain of the white people. He stated that Gaika was then preparing to attack Ndlambe, and therefore could not leave his kraal. Mr. De Mist, however, did not choose to put himself to any more trouble, so from the Fish river the party turned homeward.

The route now followed was by the way of Bruintjes Hoogte to the village of Graaff-Reinet. Here a detention of several days was made, for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the eastern part of the colony. When this was completed the party moved on, and after suffering greatly from heat on the Karoo, passed again through the land of Waveren, and arrived at the castle on the 23rd of March 1804.

On the 7th of February the commissioner-general issued a proclamation from the village of Graaff-Reinet, cutting off from the district of that name the fieldcornetcies of Zwarte Ruggens, Bruintjes Hoogte, Zuurveld, Bushman's River, and Zwartkops River. These were the fieldcornetcies in which the most turbulent burghers resided, and which had been the principal field of depredations by the Xosas. They were now formed into a new district, which was to have as landdrost a military officer in command of a body of troops. Mr. Bresler had been recalled some time before, and in his stead Mr. Andries Stockenstrom, secretary of Swellendam, was appointed landdrost of Graaff-Reinet. On the 14th of February he assumed the duty. On the 22nd of April Captain Alberti, who was in command of the garrison of Fort Frederick, was instructed to act as landdrost of the new district, to which three days later General Janssens gave the name Uitenhage, an old family name of the commissioner-general.

Captain Alberti was instructed to consult the leading burghers in the selection of a site for the drostdy, and the three landdrosts of Swellendam, Graaff-Reinet, and Uitenhage were directed

to confer together and send in a report upon the advisability or otherwise of increasing the size of the new district. On the 4th of October they recommended that the fieldcornetcy of Winterhoek should be taken from Graaff-Reinet, and the fieldcornetcies of Zitzikama, Kromme River, and Baviaans' Kloof from Swellendam, and added to Uitenhage. Each district should then have a landdrost and six heemraden. The commissioner-general approved of this, and the necessary orders were given.

The boundary of the new district of Uitenhage was declared to be "from Grenadier's Cape through the upper end of Kromme River in a straight line through Kougaberg to the lower point of Anthoniesberg, thence along the waggon road through Dasjes Poort, Groote River Poort, Groote River, Swanepoel's Poort, Hop River, Bul River, Sunday River, Vogel River, and Blyde River to Bruintjes Hoogte, thence along the top of Bruintjes Hoogte to the Boschberg, along the Boschberg to the end of Kagaberg, and thence Fish River to the sea."

Captain Alberti, with Commandant Hendrik van Rensburg and Fieldcornet Ignatius Mulder, selected as a suitable site for the drostdy a farm belonging to the widow Elizabeth Scheepers, which had been laid waste by the Kaffirs, and had not since been occupied. The widow offered to sell the farm for £400, provided the right of free residence during her life was left to her. On the 22nd of September the council agreed to purchase it on these terms. The drostdy buildings were commenced shortly afterwards, when the site took the same name as the district. The first session of the landdrost and heemraden was held on the 15th of November.

In the same year another district was created. On the 11th of July 1804 the commissioner-general issued a proclamation cutting off from Stellenbosch a tract of country north of a provisional line, which was laid down as extending from Verloren Vlei north of St. Helena Bay along Kruis River, thence east through Pikenier's Kloof and Eland's Kloof, along the northern base of the mountains of Cold Bokkeveld, and thence south-east by the Draai at Verkeerde Vlei to the border

of Swellendam. On the 15th of July General Janssens gave to the district between this provisional line, the northern boundary of the colony, and the Gamka river or western boundary of Graaff-Reinet, the name Tulbagh, in honour of the highly esteemed governor of former days. It was proposed that the drostdy should be at Jan-Dissel's-Vlei, where the village of Clanwilliam was built a few years afterwards; but as it was doubtful whether a better site could not be found, Mr. Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman, formerly landdrost of Stellenbosch, was appointed a commissioner to inspect the new district, report upon this matter and the provisional boundary, and make arrangements for opening a court.

On the 1st of August Mr. Hendrik van de Graaff was appointed landdrost of Tulbagh. This gentleman was a nephew of the former governor Van de Graaff, and was an officer of the artillery corps when the colony was surrendered to the British forces in 1795. In April 1797 he was appointed a director of the loan bank, in which position he had acquitted himself so well that he was now considered the best man who could be found as landdrost.

Mr. Bletterman sent in a report, in which strong objections were urged against Jan-Dissel's-Vlei being made the seat of magistracy, on account of its being cut off from the eastern part of the district by a very rugged tract of land. He recommended instead the farm Rietvlei, close to Roodezand's church. This farm belonged to a man named Hercules du Pré, who was willing to sell it for £1,111. The council adopted the report on the 18th of September, and extended the district of Tulbagh southward to the Breede river from its junction with the Hex upwards to the western point of the so-called island, thence the western chain of mountains to Roodezand's Kloof, thence the Little Berg river through the kloof, and thence the mountains of Twenty-four Rivers and Elephant River to the first-named provisional boundary.

One of the most enterprising and patriotic men in the Netherlands at this time was Mr. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, whose name at a later date was intimately connected

with the history of his country. This gentleman formed a plan of colonising a tract of land in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay, by which means he hoped to benefit both the mother country and the dependency.

The design was a large one. Mr. Van Hogendorp was to receive from the government a grant in freehold of an extensive district, comprising forests as well as ground adapted for tillage and pasturage. The government was to provide free passages from the Netherlands for such persons as he should send out. These persons were to be farm labourers and artisans, who were to enter into a contract to serve him after their arrival in South Africa for a stated time at fixed wages, after which they were to have plots of ground from thirty to one hundred acres in extent assigned to them. He was then to provide them with stock to farm with, for which he was to receive interest in produce for twenty-five years, at the expiration of which period they could either repay the capital or continue as before.

He intended to have a portion of the land cultivated on his own account, and it was for this purpose that he required the services of the people. A magazine was to be erected for the storage of produce until it could be exported, and for the sale of clothing and other goods. There were to be no slaves in the new settlement.

A saw-mill, with the best appliances then known, was constructed and made ready to be forwarded to South Africa, for he intended to prepare timber for exportation. The production of wool was another of his objects, and with this view he purchased a flock of choice Spanish sheep, which he kept under his own eye in Holland, that he might be able to send out rams yearly.

Mr. Van Hogendorp took as an associate a retired military officer named Von Buchenroeder, who had a very high opinion of his own abilities, but who—as General Janssens said—succeeded in nothing, because he was a mere theorist. In Holland there had been living for some time a colonist named Hermanus Vermaak, who had been banished for corresponding

with one of his friends in Amsterdam during the British occupation, and who did not fail to speak of the land of his birth in the highest terms. He returned in 1803 as one of Mr. Van Hogendorp's agents in South Africa, the attorney-general Beelaerts van Blokland being the other.

Both Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were very willing to assist in the settlement of industrious European immigrants. They could not sufficiently express their regret that the mistake had been made of introducing negro slaves into the country; but they were of opinion that it was not too late partly to repair that error. If Europeans in considerable numbers could be obtained as immigrants, and further importations of blacks be prevented, in course of time the negroes already in the country might have a tract of land assigned to them where they could live by themselves, and the remainder of the colony thus be made a pure European settlement. A stringent regulation was put in force that not a negro should be landed without the special permission of the government being first obtained. Holding these views, the authorities were averse even to the sale of a few slaves from ships that called, and though in several instances under pressing circumstances such sales were authorised, the number of negroes added to the population while Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were at the head of affairs was very small.

In April 1803 Major Von Buchenroeder arrived with a party of immigrants, consisting of twenty-two men, four women, and five children, when all that was possible was done to aid him. It was believed in Holland that the whole country in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay was capable of supporting a dense agricultural population, and as General Janssens had already formed a different opinion, he did not assign a tract of land to Mr. Van Hogendorp, but advised that the most suitable vacant ground should first be selected by a competent person. Major Von Buchenroeder regarded himself as the best judge of a proper locality, and he made a tour along the coast, concerning which he afterwards published a small volume that proves how just was the governor's estimate of his character.

Before his return to Capetown intelligence of the outbreak of war in Europe was received, which practically put an end to the colonisation scheme, though another party, consisting of fifteen men, six women, and sixteen children, was sent from Holland by Mr. Van Hogendorp. These people, however, never reached South Africa, as they were forwarded by way of the United States, and preferred to stay there instead of proceeding farther.

Meantime the men brought out by Major Von Buchenroeder ascertained that employment could readily be had in Capetown on terms much more lucrative to them than the wages for which they had contracted before leaving Holland. Mr. Van Hogendorp had advanced them money for outfits, and his agents tried to keep them to their engagements; but most of them gave ceaseless trouble. Von Buchenroeder, too, worried the government with long memorials and endless complaints, until the commissioner-general found it necessary to deal very abruptly with him. A tract of land in the valley above Hout Bay was offered to Mr. Van Hogendorp's agents to make a trial with, and the major was sent back to Holland.

The end of the matter was that in 1806 one man only of the people brought out was living on the ground, and he was getting a living as a woodcutter. There was not a square yard of the soil under cultivation. Mr. Van Hogendorp had forwarded a quantity of stores and implements from Holland, but most had been lost in two shipwrecks. The failure of the design was complete, and the promoter was some thousands of pounds out of pocket by it, without any return whatever.

Among the measures devised by Mr. De Mist for the advancement of the colony was the appointment of a commission to carry out improvements in agriculture and stock-breeding, and particularly for the conversion of Cape sheep into merinos. The commission consisted of a president, a vice-president, and twelve members experienced in farming operations, who were appointed in May 1804. No salaries were attached to their duties. The tract of land called Groote Post, at Groenekloof, was allotted to them, and paper money to the

amount of £4,167 was stamped and assigned as a fund to work with. Hopes were entertained in Holland of the colony becoming a great wool-producing country, and some Cape wool was woven into cloth at Amsterdam and sent back to show the farmers what could be done. The commission imported some Spanish rams, and within two years the number of wool-bearing sheep in the colony was increased to eleven thousand; but slaughter stock was still so scarce and dear that very few breeders could be induced to exchange weight of carcase for quality of fleece. To try to improve the quality of Cape wine, a man of experience in Rhenish vineyards was engaged and brought out. Experiments were again commenced with that Will-o'-the-wisp of the early government in South Africa, the olive. On this occasion the plants were brought from Portugal.

On the 25th of July 1804 an ordinance was published by the commissioner-general which confirmed perfect liberty of conscience to everyone in the colony. It declared that equal protection from the law should be enjoyed by all religious societies which for the promotion of virtue and good morals worshipped an Almighty Being, and that no civil privileges were to be attached to any creed. At the same time, in order to prevent immoral or dangerous teaching, the erection of places of worship and assemblages for public service were forbidden without the knowledge and consent of the governor, and illiterate and unqualified persons were prohibited from acting as clergymen. The Dutch reformed, however, was to remain the established church of the country. Its clergymen were to be appointed and paid by government, and in other ways it was to be under control of the civil authorities. When a new congregation was formed, its first elders and deacons were to be nominated by the landdrost of the district in which it was situated, though the consistory was to be perpetuated thereafter by its own choice of persons to fill the yearly vacancies. In all cases the governor's approval was needed.

The ordinance reduced the number of clergymen of the

Dutch reformed church in Capetown to two, a senior, who was to receive £333 6*s.* 8*d.*, and a junior, who was to receive £300 a year, with no other emoluments whatever. They were required to hold services and administer the sacraments at Simonstown on four stated days in every year. All the ministers in the country districts were to receive the same salary: £166 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, with a house and a garden. They were required to make frequent tours through the remote parts of their parishes.

In June 1804 the reverend Mr. Serrurier, after forty-four years' service, retired on a pension, leaving Messrs. Fleck and Von Manger as clergymen of the Capetown congregation. It was intended that a clergyman should be stationed at each of the drostdies and at Drakenstein and Zwartland, but it was not possible to obtain a sufficient number. During the time that the colony remained a dependency of the Batavian Republic only one new name was added to the list: that of the reverend Jan Augustus Schutz, who called in a ship in September 1803, and accepted the appointment to the church of Swellendam, from which the reverend Mr. Ballot had been removed to Roodezand in May of the same year. The churches of Drakenstein and Graaff-Reinet remained without clergymen, and no church could be formed at Uitenhage.

The time was ripe for freedom of public worship in Capetown, but the country people were not yet prepared for such liberal measures, and they did not regard with favour an enactment that gave to Jews, Roman catholics, and Mohamedans the same civil rights as themselves. As yet the whole rural population of European blood adhered to the Dutch reformed church, though in Capetown there were residents professing almost every shade of religious belief.

On the 4th of October 1805 there arrived in the Prussian ship *President Von Vinke* the reverend Jacobus Nelissen, Roman catholic chaplain, accompanied by the reverend Johannes Lansink and a lay brother named Lambertus Prinsen, who were sent from Holland by the Batavian authorities to minister to the soldiers of their creed. A room in the castle was fitted

up as a chapel, and any one who chose was free to attend the services.

In nothing were the advanced ideas of the commissioner-general more clearly displayed than in an attempt which he made to establish a system of public schools not connected with any church, but having as their object the imparting of a good secular education. A board was created, consisting of a president and one other member appointed by the governor, two members chosen by the president from the burgher senate and the directors of the orphan chamber, the two clergymen of the Dutch reformed church in Capetown, and the clergyman of the Lutheran church. It was provided that the president was always to be a member of the council of state. The landdrosts and clergymen of the country districts were honorary members. This board was to devise means for the spread of education, and was to have general control of all schools in the colony; but in executive matters the governor was to be the final authority. It was intended to send to Holland for competent teachers until a normal school could be established in Capetown for the purpose of training them.

On the 20th of February 1805 the board of education met for the first time. It consisted of Messrs. J. P. van Medenbach Wakker, W. S. van Ryneveld, J. J. Vos, P. J. Truter, and the clergymen Fleck, Von Manger, and Hesse. Thereafter it assembled in the vestry room of the Dutch church on the first Tuesday in every month. The difficulties it had to contend with were many. There was first the question of finance, for the aid afforded by the public treasury was limited, and the larger portion of the requisite funds had therefore to be raised by subscription and school fees. Next there were very few competent teachers to be obtained. And lastly there was a strong prejudice against the composition of the board, for the project was altogether in advance of the times. Better no education at all from books than instruction not based on religion was the cry of the farmers from one end of the country to the other.

During the short time that elapsed before the colony again

changed its rulers very little therefore could be accomplished under Mr. De Mist's project. The only school established in the country districts was one at Paarl, which did not continue long in existence. In Capetown a superior girls' school was opened in the Keizersgracht—now Darling-street—in April 1805, with Mr. and Mrs. A. Pahud as teachers. It was kept up until April 1809, when the attendance was so small that government aid was withdrawn. The Latin school, which was endowed with the funds raised ten years earlier, was reorganised, with Mr. J. I. Klein as acting rector; but it never reached a condition that could be termed thriving. The greatest good effected was in the establishment and supervision of a few elementary schools in the town. The hours of attendance were six on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, and three on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Another ordinance of the commissioner-general—though it was not published until the 31st of October 1804, after he had laid down his authority—facilitated the celebration of marriages. Prior to this date all persons desiring to be married were required to appear before the matrimonial court in Capetown, to show that there were no legal impediments. From this court a license was obtained, and they could then either be married by a clergyman in Capetown, or return to their own district and be married by the clergyman of the congregation of which they were members. The ordinance of Mr. De Mist provided that after the 1st of January 1805 marriages were to take place before the landdrost and two heemraden of the district in which the bride had lived for the previous three months. The necessity for a journey to Capetown was thus done away with, and quite as good security was provided against improper unions.

It was the commissioner-general De Mist who gave to Capetown the coat-of-arms now used by the authorities of the city. He adapted the devices from the escutcheon of Abraham van Riebeek, who was born here, and who was governor-general of Netherlands India from 1709 to 1713. Possibly that gentleman's father, Jan van Riebeek, may have used a

coat-of-arms with three annulets in it. Mr. De Mist thought it likely that he had, but there is no certainty about it, though the probabilities are very much greater than that the portrait in the town-house, which is commonly said to be Jan van Riebeek's, really is a likeness of the founder of the colony. The commissioner-general made the adoption of the coat-of-arms by the city of Capetown an occasion for festivity. It was the 3rd of July 1804. There was an entertainment in the town-house, and in the evening the buildings along the principal streets were illuminated.

In his capacity of Deputy Grand Master National, on the 7th of July 1803 Mr. De Mist dedicated the masonic temple De Goede Hoop, a building which cost between eight and nine thousand pounds at a time when labour was inexpensive. The constitution of this lodge was dated at the Hague on the 1st of November 1772. On the 15th of October 1800 a plot of ground named Domburg, close to government house, purchased from Mr. George Muller, was transferred to the brotherhood, and shortly afterwards the construction of the temple was commenced. At the ceremony of dedication about two hundred free masons were present.*

The paper currency of the colony was increased in quantity by the commissioner-general, though the government now admitted that it had depreciated in value. When the colony was transferred to the Batavian Republic, there were in circulation one million seven hundred and eighty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-five rixdollars, which at four English shillings to the rixdollar — its nominal value — represented £357,255. On the 30th of March 1804 the commissioner-general issued fresh notes to the amount of seventy-five thousand rixdollars, for the purpose of relieving the sufferers by a fire in the village of Stellenbosch on the 28th of December 1803, when the mill, the parsonage, twenty-four private dwelling-houses, and fourteen warehouses and stores

* The original temple was destroyed in a disastrous fire on the 21st of February 1892, but it has since been rebuilt.

were totally destroyed.† A few months later notes to the amount of twenty-five thousand rixdollars were issued to provide a fund for the commission for the improvement of agriculture and stockbreeding to work with, fifty thousand rixdollars to erect the necessary buildings at the new drostdies of Uitenhage and Tulbagh, and one hundred and fifty thousand rixdollars to erect granaries, a hall of justice, and a prison in Capetown. The last sum was not, however, used for the purpose originally intended, but as a measure of necessity was placed in the military chest. The whole quantity of notes in circulation was thus raised to two millions eighty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-five rixdollars, of which eight hundred and forty-five thousand rixdollars formed the capital of the loan bank. Most of this paper was worn and nearly defaced, and some of it differed in style from other; so it was all called in, and new notes uniform in appearance, though varying in colour according to the amount represented, were issued in exchange. On this occasion a trifling sum was ascertained to have been lost, so that notes representing only two millions and eighty-six thousand rixdollars were stamped. The paper rixdollar was now computed in the government accounts as well as in private transactions at two gulden of Holland, or three shillings and four pence English money, so that the whole amount in circulation was equal to £347,666 13*s.* 4*d.*

There are strong indications in the official documents that both Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were not unfavourably disposed towards the Orange party, though they served the Batavian Republic faithfully. They were very jealous of French influence. In December 1803 an agent arrived from Mauritius, and wished to be termed French Resident; but they would not accord him that title, though they were careful not to offend him. When a French fleet put in and the admiral applied for provisions in a time of scarcity, the commissioner-

† Some time afterwards it was discovered that this calamity was caused by an incendiary, a Bengalese slave named Patientie. He was punished with death for the crime.

general instructed the governor to give him what he needed, as it would not do to refuse, though payment might be doubtful.

Another instance of jealousy of French influence occurred in the treatment of a man named George Francis Grand, who arrived in South Africa in April 1803, and claimed the position of privy councillor and the second place in the government. The commissioner-general De Mist knew nothing whatever of the man or the office, and he was not as much as named in any despatches received from Holland. His pretensions were therefore disregarded, though he was treated with courtesy. He was by birth a Swiss, but had been for many years in the service of the English East India Company, and had held important situations in Hindostan until for some unexplained cause he was dismissed. He could not speak a word of Dutch. At length particulars concerning him were received from Holland, when it appeared that he had been appointed consulting councillor, with a salary of £166 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. He had been for some time separated, but not legally divorced, from his wife, owing to her seduction by the celebrated Philip Francis; and she was then married to a French minister of state of the highest rank. This being the secret of Grand's appointment, Mr. De Mist did not pay much regard to his importunate requests for a seat in the council, if not the second place in the government. He was informed that he would be consulted in matters relating to the Indian trade, of which he was supposed to have special knowledge; and to this vague position he was at length obliged to submit.

On the 25th of September 1804 Mr. De Mist formally laid down his authority as commissioner-general, so that the governor might be more free to act with vigour. The great question of the time was how to place the colony in a condition for defence, as no one doubted that sooner or later it would be attacked by the English. Mr. De Mist did not profess to know anything of military matters, and thought that the governor, upon whom the responsibility would fall, should have sole authority, though they had worked together in perfect concord. There

are many indications that they were both too far advanced in modern opinions to remain popular in this country much longer, unless they made large concessions to the sentiments of the colonists. General Janssens was the more flexible of the two. He was already beginning to see plainly that a body of people secluded from intercourse with Europe for more than a century could not be dealt with in the same manner as men who had lived in the whirl of the French revolution.

Mr. De Mist resided at Stellenburg, close to Wynberg, from August to November 1804, when he removed to Maastricht, at the Tigerberg. On the 24th of February 1805, with his daughter, who accompanied him to South Africa, he embarked in the American ship *Silenus*, and on the following day sailed for the United States. So entirely was Dutch commerce driven from the seas that there was no other way by which he could return to Europe.

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CHAPTER V.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JANSSENS (*continued*).

In January 1805 a post for the conveyance of letters and the *Government Gazette* was established between Capetown and the various drostdies. A mail bag was conveyed weekly by post-riders to Stellenbosch and Tulbagh, and to the other drostdies whenever the government wished to send despatches. In this case farmers along the lines of road contracted to forward the bag from one station to another, and the land-drosts sent the letters and papers to the fieldcornets with the first convenience.

As the northern boundary proclaimed by Lord Macartney did not include all the occupied farms, and as in one place it was somewhat obscure, on the 20th of February 1805 the council rectified it by resolving that it should thenceforth be the Koussie or Buffalo river from its mouth to its source in the Koperberg, thence south-eastward in as nearly as possible a straight line—but following the mountains—to the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers, thence the Zak river to its source in the Nieuwveld mountains, thence the Nieuwveld mountains to the Sneeuwberg, and thence north-eastward a line enclosing the Great Table mountain to the Zeekoe river at Plettenberg's beacon. The eastern boundary as defined by Lord Macartney was not changed, though it was worded differently, namely, as the Zuurberg, thence a line along the western side of the Bamboesberg enclosing the Tarka and Kwadehoek and passing along the foot of the Tarka mountain through Kagaberg to the junction of the Baviaans' and Fish rivers, and thence the Fish river to the sea.

It has already been stated that the high court of justice was

independent of the executive and legislative branches of the government. It was intended that all the judges should be appointed in Holland, and should be removable only by the supreme authorities there. The full court was to consist of a president and six members. As one of the judges had not arrived, and as there was good reason to suppose that he would never reach South Africa, on the 6th of October 1803 the commissioner-general, with the concurrence of the governor and the council, appointed Jan Henoch Neethling, a doctor of laws, to the vacant place. The office of secretary to the council, which he had previously held, was given to Mr. Jan Andries Truter. Mr. Gerrit Buyskes, the secretary to the high court, who was appointed in Holland, did not arrive until two years later.

The inferior courts were remodelled by an ordinance enacted by the governor and council in October 1805.

The landdrosts were to remain, as before, the chief representatives of the supreme authority in their respective districts. They were to guard the rights of the inhabitants to personal freedom and possession of their property; to encourage industry, education, the extension of agriculture, and the improvement of cattle; to maintain peace and friendship with the aborigines beyond the border; to protect the Hottentots in their rights as a free people; to preserve forests, and encourage tree-planting; to keep a record of land-grants of every kind, and to prevent the alienation of vacant ground to the prejudice of the public; to receive revenue; to take preparatory examinations in charges of crime; to cause deserters and vagrants to be arrested, and to send them, together with prisoners charged with the commission of serious offences, to Capetown for trial; and to protect slaves from ill-treatment. Their power of inflicting punishment upon slaves was limited to imprisonment for six months, the infliction of a moderate number of lashes, or placing the culprit in chains. In cases of petty crime, for which the law provided penalties not exceeding fifty rixdollars, the landdrosts were left at liberty to compound with the offenders without public trial. Each landdrost was to be pro-

This map shows the extent and divisions of the Colony in 1805 under the administration of the Batavian Republic.

The places where there were courts of law were
Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
Stellenbosch, village founded in December 1679,
Swellendam, village founded in October 1746,
Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October 1786,
Tulbagh, village founded in October 1743, first landdrost appointed in August 1804,
Uitenhage, village founded in November 1804.

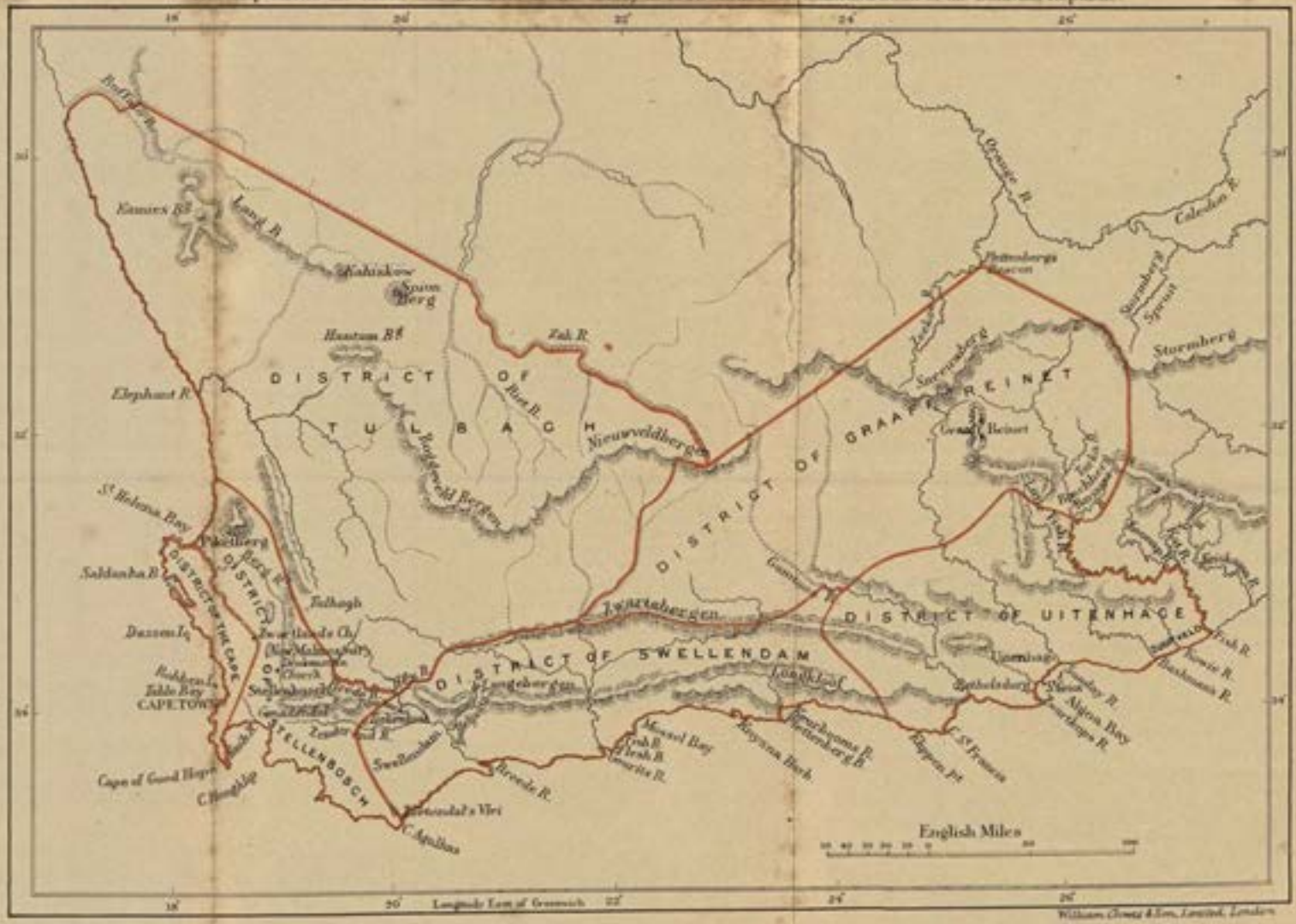
The churches were at

Dutch reformed
- Capetown, established in August 1665,
- Stellenbosch, established in December 1686,
- Drakenstein, established in December 1691,
- Tulbagh, established in October 1743,
- Zwartland, (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745,
- Graaff-Reinet, established in March 1792,
- Swellendam, established in May 1798.

Lutheran — Capetown, established in December 1780.

Moravian mission — Genadendal, established in December 1792.

London mission — Bethelsdorp, established in May 1804.



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vided with a house, a garden, and a cattle run. He was to have a salary of two thousand five hundred rixdollars a year, and was to be entitled to specified fees for certain duties. The landdrost of Stellenbosch was to have five hundred rixdollars a year extra salary.

In each district there were to be six heemraden, selected from the most respectable and trustworthy burghers. The qualifications of these officers were the attainment of thirty years of age, residence in the district for three years, and the possession of freehold property or the occupation of a leasehold farm. They were to receive no salaries or emoluments, as their office was to be regarded as one of honour. On the formation of a new district the heemraden were to be appointed by the governor; but at the end of each succeeding year the two who had served longest were to retire, when the governor was to select their successors from a list of four names supplied by the board. A session of the court of landdrost and heemraden was to be held monthly in the districts of Stellenbosch and Tulbagh, quarterly in the other districts. The landdrost was to preside, except in case of unavoidable absence, when the senior heemraad was to take the chair. The landdrost and four heemraden were to form a quorum.

This court had jurisdiction in all disputes concerning the boundaries of farms and the impounding of cattle, all suits connected with auction sales, and all civil cases in which the amount contested was less than three hundred rixdollars. There was a right of appeal from its decisions to that of the high court of justice in cases over the value of twenty-five rixdollars. The landdrost and heemraden were to perform the duties of coroners. They had charge also of the highways, and generally of such matters as were carried out at the expense of the district. In their judicial capacity they were responsible only to the high court of justice, and criminal cases were reported by them to the attorney-general. In all other matters they were responsible to the governor.

There was a very useful class of officers, termed fieldcornets,

whose sphere of duty other than military had only been recognised of recent years, as they had gradually and almost imperceptibly taken the place of the corporals of militia and the veldwachtmeesters of earlier times. The ordinance of October 1805 gave them a better position than they had previously occupied. Every district was now divided into wards, none of which were to be of greater extent than could be ridden across by a man on horseback in six hours; in each of these wards there was to be a fieldcornet, nominated by the landdrost and appointed by the governor. He was to be a man of unblemished character, over twenty-five years of age, a resident for more than two years in the ward, and in possession of freehold property or in occupation of a leasehold farm. He was to be the representative of the landdrost, to maintain order and tranquillity, to settle petty disputes, to keep a register of the people, to make new laws known, and generally to promote industry and whatever might tend to prosperity. He was to be free of district taxation, and was to have a farm without rent or twenty-five rixdollars a year.

For military purposes the fieldcornets were to call out and lead the burghers of their wards whenever required by the landdrost. The burghers were divided into three classes. The first to be called upon for personal service were those between sixteen and thirty years of age, next those between thirty and forty-five, and lastly those between forty-five and sixty years of age. If all the men of a class were not needed, the unmarried and those without employment were to be called out before the others. Such as were not called upon for personal service were to be assessed to supply food, horses, and means of transport. When in the field, the several divisions of the burgher militia of each district were under the general orders either of the landdrost or of a commandant appointed by the governor, and the fieldcornets often had the title of captain conferred upon them. In this manner the whole European population of the colony was organised for military purposes.

During recent years reports of various kinds had reached Capetown concerning the settlements formed by agents of the

London missionary society north of the Orange river, and as some of these reports were to the effect that a community hostile to the colony was growing up there, the government resolved to send a commission to inspect the settlements and obtain accurate information. The officers chosen for this purpose were Landdrost Van de Graaff, of Tulbagh, and Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, surgeon of the Hottentot corps. In May 1805 these gentlemen left Tulbagh, and travelling by way of Karoo Poort, reached the colonial boundary without difficulty. Along the route they heard numerous complaints of depredations by Bushmen, and ascertained that the arrangements made with these people in former years had completely failed in their object.

At the mission station on the Zak river they found the colonist Christiaan Botma in charge during the reverend Mr. Kicherer's absence in Europe. The Bushmen gathered together here had dispersed as soon as the missionaries' means of providing them with food failed, and only about forty individuals remained, most of whom were halfbreeds that had from youth professed Christianity. Botma, the teacher, was a man of great zeal, and had expended a large portion of his private property in maintaining the station; but it seemed to the commission that the principles on which the work was being conducted were decidedly wrong. Religious services were frequently held, and were attended by everyone on the place. But industry was not enforced, and the habits of the people formed a striking contrast to those of the residents at the Moravian institution in the district of Stellenbosch. The mission was doing no harm politically or in any other way, though it appeared to be of very little service to the few people under its influence.

Here a party of farmers joined the travellers as an escort, making the whole number up to eight Europeans, twelve Hottentots, and five slaves. On the southern bank of the Orange a horde of Xosas was met, under two near relatives of the chief Ndlambe, who had wandered away from their own country.

The Orange was crossed at Prieska Drift. On its northern bank the missionaries Vanderlingen and Jan Kock were met, journeying from the Batlapin country towards the Cape. Kock, who understood the Setshuana language, was easily persuaded to send his family on to the station at the Zak river, and return with the commission.

At Lauw-waters-kloof, which was reached on the same day, a number of halfbreeds and Koranas were found. Here two more missionaries—Koster and Janssen by name—were met returning from the Batlapin country, having abandoned the work there. Lauw-waters-kloof was ascertained to be one of six mission villages, inhabited by halfbreeds and Koranas, with several Namaquas and a few blacks and Hottentots from the Cape Colony. The other five were Rietfontein, Witwater, Taaiboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil, and Ongeluksfontein. In these villages nearly a thousand people were living, many of whom were halfbreeds that had been wandering along the southern bank of the Orange for fifteen or twenty years, before the missionaries induced them to settle down to receive instruction. Among them were also several individuals who had grown up in the families of colonists. These had always worn European clothing, and were baptized professors of Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

The district in which the villages were situated—[since 1880 the colonial division of Hay]—had from time immemorial been occupied by Koranas and Bushmen, who were at bitter feud with each other. The halfbreeds, Namaquas, and colonial Hottentots were recent immigrants, who had come in with the missionaries. Small-pox in a mild form was prevalent among the people, and was said to have been brought from the north, but how or when was not ascertained. It had been unknown in the Cape Colony since 1769, and most likely had spread overland from Delagoa Bay.

At Leeuwenkuil the missionary Anderson was then residing. The travellers were greatly impressed with his devotion to his work, and with the exemplary life he was leading. He and Mr. Kramer were the only white men living in the district,

the others who had formerly assisted them having retired from that field.

The commission found that nothing was to be feared from this settlement. Mr. Anderson regarded himself as subject to the colonial government, and the halfbreeds, who gained their subsistence chiefly by hunting, were so dependent upon Europeans for ammunition and other necessaries that their engaging in hostilities was out of the question.

From Ongeluksfontein, the farthest of the six villages to the north, the travellers set out for the Batlapin country. Since the journey of Messrs. Truter and Somerville to Lithako in 1801, a good deal had been heard of the Betshuana, but the different accounts by no means agreed. Among those who supplied information was the reverend Mr. Edwards. This missionary, who might be supposed to know more than any other European about the Batlapin, left the Kuruman river towards the close of 1803, and visited Capetown, where he gave the government a description in writing of the people he had been living with, some portions of which could only be regarded as fabulous. For instance, he stated that they regarded his wife as a goddess, and offered him a great number of cattle for a daughter born at Molehabangwe's kraal. In March 1805 he wished to return, but the council declined to give him permission; and shortly afterwards Messrs. Van de Graaff and Lichtenstein were instructed to include the Batlapin country in their tour.

A little beyond Ongeluksfontein the travellers met a waggon containing the families of two halfbreed brothers named Jantje and David Bergover, who had been in Jan Kock's service on the Kuruman river. They had left the Kuruman with a view of following Kock to the mission station on the Zak river, but had been attacked on the way by Bushmen, and the two men and one little girl had been murdered. The party from the south arrived just in time to rescue the other children and the women.

In the valley of the Kuruman the first Batlapin were found. The principal kraal of Molehabangwe was then only a short

distance from the spot where that stream issues with great force from a cavern. The kraal was found to consist of five or six hundred huts, and to contain about five thousand people. The year after Messrs. Truter and Somerville's visit, the Barolong under Makraki had separated from the Batlapin, and had moved away to the neighbourhood of their kinsmen in the north. This migration reduced the kraal to one-third of its former size. The commission was received in a friendly manner by the old chief Molehabangwe, and by his sons Mothibi, Telekela, Molimo, and Molala. There were no missionaries remaining on the Kuruman, all who had been there having left for the colony; but it was Jan Kock's intention to return. The commission could not ascertain that any of them except Kock had made the slightest impression upon the people, and what benefit had been derived from his teaching was in an improved method of tilling the ground, not in the adoption of Christianity.

Of the Betshuana tribes to the north—the Barolong, Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, and others which have since disappeared—some information was gathered, but it was not very reliable. The existence of slavery among these tribes, which was not suspected by Messrs. Truter and Somerville, was proved beyond all doubt. In fact two boys were offered for sale to the commission at the price of a sheep each. But the abject state in which the slaves were living at a distance from the principal kraal was not made known until some years later.

The Kuruman was the farthest point reached by the expedition. During the return journey nothing occurred that was of more than passing interest, and the travellers arrived safely at Tulbagh again after an absence of three months.

On the 14th of May 1804 the whaling schooner *Hope* was wrecked near Walfish Bay. The crew got safely to land, and left the wreck with a view of trying to make their way along the coast to Capetown. On the 20th they were attacked by a party of Hottentots, and all were killed except two sailors, who were badly wounded, but were rescued on the following day by an English whaler.

On the 3rd of November 1805, during a violent gale from the north-west, three American ships were driven ashore in Table Bay, and became total wrecks. The French frigate *Atalante* also went ashore, and was dismasted and otherwise damaged, but was got afloat again after the storm subsided.

In 1805 the European population of the whole colony, according to the census returns, consisted of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven individuals, exclusive of soldiers. They owned twenty-nine thousand five hundred and forty-five slaves, and had in their service under agreements twenty thousand and six Hottentots, halfbreeds, and Bushmen. It is impossible to say how many Hottentots were living at their own kraals, or Bushmen roaming about, for these people paid no taxes and therefore no notice was taken of them by the census framers. Those in service and their families were registered, in order that they might be protected. Capetown contained, in addition to public edifices of various kinds, one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight houses and stores, and had a population of six thousand two hundred and seventy-three Europeans, one thousand one hundred and thirty Asiatics and free blacks, nine thousand one hundred and twenty-nine slaves, and four hundred and fifty-two Hottentots.

From the time that news was received of the renewal of the war, General Janssens made unceasing efforts to prepare for the defence of the colony. There were seventy or eighty British subjects in the country, mostly men who had settled here as traders during the English occupation. In February 1804 a proclamation was issued, ordering them all to leave in neutral ships within two months; but this was not enforced. After the 8th of October 1804 they were required by proclamation to reside in Stellenbosch, and could only leave that village with a pass from the governor stating the object and time of their absence. Some, however, who were married into colonial families, or who had farming interests that would suffer by their being away, were excepted, and were permitted to remain at their homes on giving a pledge that they would do nothing hostile to the Dutch in the event of the colony being attacked.

The Hottentot infantry regiment, six hundred strong, was brought to such an efficient state that it was regarded as a really serviceable corps. Its officers were colonists who understood the character of the men and how to manage them. Frans le Sueur, who was in command, had the title of lieutenant-colonel.

In November 1804 the Asiatics in and about Capetown were enrolled as volunteers in a corps termed the Javanese or Malay artillery. They were drilled with field-guns and to work the cannon in the forts, until the governor pronounced them a highly efficient and reliable body of auxiliaries.

An attempt was made to lay up a supply of grain at the old Company's estate Ziekenhuis behind the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, so that if Capetown should fall, the army could retreat and cut off supplies from the invader. But this could not be carried out, as the crop of 1803–4 was a poor one, and that of 1804–5 unusually bad. In December 1805 the government was offering the farmers around the Cape for the wheat then being reaped sixteen shillings and eight pence a muid, from which only one shilling a muid was to be deducted instead of the tithe. About Zwartkops River good crops were being gathered, and Captain Alberti was instructed to try to secure a quantity at Algoa Bay at eleven shillings and eight pence a muid clear. But this season's harvest was not out of the farmers' hands in January 1806.

General Janssens was doing his utmost to excite a martial spirit among the burghers. Drills and reviews were more frequent than ever before, flattering addresses were made by the governor on every opportunity, and no event in which bravery or patience was displayed was allowed to pass by without notice. As an instance, on the 20th of February 1805 three corporals and twenty-eight privates of the Hottentot corps deserted with their arms from the camp at Wynberg. They were pursued by parties of mounted burghers, but they were not captured until the corporals were all shot, when the privates surrendered. In skirmishing with the deserters, a burgher named Mattheus Zaaiman was killed, and Jan Roux

and Jan Swanepoel were wounded. At the instance of the governor, the council hereupon resolved to give to Zaaiman's parents, Roux, and Swanepoel farms free of quitrent for life; and to present silver goblets with suitable inscriptions on them to the militia captains Willem Wium, Willem Morkel, Jacobus Linde, and Pieter Human.

The regular European troops of all arms were between fifteen and sixteen hundred in number. No reinforcements had been sent out since the transfer of the colony, though the original strength of the regiments in garrison was greatly reduced by desertion, ordinary mortality, and unusually heavy losses from a very malignant form of dysentery which was prevalent in November and December 1804, when most of the soldiers were in a camp on the Liesbeek river. The troops were distributed over the Cape peninsula, except a detachment of eighty men at Fort Frederick. From the almost exhausted treasury of the Batavian Republic, General Janssens had drawn until recently money at the rate of £100,000 a year for military purposes of all kinds, but he was now trying to manage with a smaller sum.

So matters stood at the Cape at the close of the year 1805. For a long time an attack had been expected, and within the last few days tidings were received which set every one on the alert. On the 24th and 25th of December the French privateer *Napoleon*, which had recently brought some fifty English prisoners of war from Mauritius to the Cape and then went to cruise in the route of homeward-bound ships, was chased by the English frigate *Narcissus*, and, to avoid capture, was run ashore on the coast south of Hout Bay. Her crew brought the intelligence to Capetown, and it was suspected that the frigate had companions. Then came a vessel with a report that she had passed in the Atlantic a great fleet steering south, and on the 28th another arrived with news that a large number of English ships had sailed from Madeira on the 3rd of October.

The fleet which was thus announced as likely to be approachin was in fact fitted out for the conquest of

the colony. In July 1805, by Lord Castlereagh's order, the fifty-ninth regiment of infantry, the twentieth light dragoons, three hundred and twenty artillerymen, and five hundred and forty-six recruits were embarked at Falmouth in transports belonging to the East India Company, which put to sea under convoy of his Majesty's brigs of war *Espoir*, *Encounter*, and *Protector*. Their destination was announced to be the East Indies, but they sailed under secret orders. Shortly afterwards, the twenty-fourth, thirty-eighth, seventy-first, seventy-second, eighty-third, and ninety-third regiments of the line were embarked in transports at Cork, ostensibly for the Mediterranean, and, accompanied by victuallers and tenders, sailed under protection of three ships of sixty-four guns—the *Diadem*, *Raisonable*, and *Belliqueux*,—one ship of fifty guns—the *Diomede*, —and two of thirty-two guns—the *Narcissus* and *Leda*. This fleet was joined by the other from Falmouth, and under command of Commodore Sir Home Popham proceeded towards the Cape of Good Hope. The troops—in all six thousand six hundred and fifty-four rank and file—were under Major-General David Baird. This officer was well acquainted with the Cape and its fortifications, having served here under General Dundas for ten months in 1798. With the expedition were also many subordinate military officers who had resided in the colony for years, and who were familiar with the features of the country.

The expedition left almost without notice, as other events were then engaging attention throughout Europe. The great French army, which was generally believed to be intended for the invasion of England, was still encamped at Boulogne when the fleet sailed. While it was on its way to the Cape, the Austrians capitulated at Ulm, the battle of Trafalgar was fought, a French army entered Vienna, and issues were decided in comparison with which the fate of the Cape Colony dwindled into insignificance. On the passage water and refreshments were obtained at Madeira and St. Salvador, and at the last named place fifty or sixty horses were purchased for the use of the dragoons. Off the coast of Brazil two of the transports were

wrecked, but all on board were rescued except Brigadier General York, of the Royal Engineers, and one marine. The frigate *Narcissus* was sent on in advance to procure information. She was unable, however, to learn what was needed, and missed joining the fleet again before its arrival. The *Espoir* was sent on some time later for the same purpose. She met with a neutral vessel just out of Table Bay, and having ascertained the strength of the garrison and particulars concerning the preparations being made by General Janssens, she returned to the fleet and communicated the intelligence.

In the morning of the 4th of January 1806 signals on the Lion's rump made known that numerous sails were in sight, and that evening the ships—sixty-one in number—came to anchor between Robben Island and the Blueberg shore. It was General Baird's intention to land his army next morning at a curve in the coast north of Melkbosch Point, from which Capetown could be reached by a march of about sixteen miles; but during the night a gale set in, and in the morning of the 5th such a heavy surf was rolling on the shore that landing was impossible.

The general then resolved to disembark his troops at Saldanha Bay, though from that port the soldiers would be obliged to make a long and weary march, and it would be necessary to keep open communication with the fleet by means of detachments posted at several stations along the route. During the night of the 5th, the *Diomede*, with some transports conveying the thirty-eighth regiment of foot, the twentieth light dragoons, and some artillery, under command of Brigadier-General Beresford, set sail for Saldanha Bay. The squadron was preceded by the *Espoir*, which was sent in advance to take possession of the port and secure as many cattle as possible.

The remainder of the fleet would have followed next morning, but at daybreak it was observed that the surf had gone down considerably. A careful examination of the shore was made, and it was found that a landing might be effected. The *Diadem*, *Leda*, *Encounter*, and *Protector* were moored so as to cover the beach with their heavy guns, and a small transport

was run aground in such a manner as to form a breakwater off the landing-place. The Highland brigade, composed of the seventy-first, seventy-second, and ninety-third regiments, under command of Brigadier-General Ferguson, was then conveyed on shore. The sea was still breaking with considerable violence, but only one boat was swamped. It contained thirty-six men of the ninety-third regiment, all of whom were drowned. The twenty-fourth, fifty-ninth, and eighty-third regiments were landed on the 7th, with some artillery and sufficient provisions for the immediate wants of the army. The debarkation was attended with only the trifling loss of one man killed and four wounded by a company of burgher militia under Commandant Jacobus Linde, who was sent to reconnoitre.

Meantime General Janssens had assembled as many men as possible under arms. Eight hours after the fleet came in sight, the fact was known in Swellendam by means of signal guns fired from hill to hill, and before the following morning the whole country within a hundred and fifty miles of Capetown was apprised of the event. There was saddling and riding in haste, but in the short time that elapsed before the fate of the colony was decided it was impossible to make a formidable muster. It was the worst time of year for the farmers to leave their homes, as the wheat was being threshed and the grapes were beginning to ripen, while the heat was so intense that journeys could only be performed by night without utter exhaustion of man and beast.

As soon as it was known that the English were landing on the Blueberg beach, General Janssens marched to meet them, leaving in Capetown a considerable burgher force and a few soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow to guard the forts and protect the town in the event of its being attacked during his absence by either the British fleet or the division of the invading army landed at Saldanha Bay. He had altogether an army rather over two thousand strong, but composed of a strange mixture of men. There were two hundred and twenty-four mounted burghers, under Commandants Linde, Human, and Wium. There was the fifth

battalion of Waldeck, which was a body of German mercenary troops, four hundred strong; the twenty-second regiment of the line, three hundred and fifty-eight strong, and the ninth battalion of jagers, two hundred and two strong, raised by recruiting from all the nations of Europe; and one hundred and thirty-eight dragoons and one hundred and sixty artillerymen, who were mostly Dutch by birth. Then there were the crews of the French ships *Atalante* and *Napoleon*, two hundred and forty men, under Colonel Gaudin Beauchêne, who was commandant of marines in the *Atalante*. And lastly, there were fifty-four Javanese artillerymen, one hundred and eighty-one Hottentot foot-soldiers, and one hundred and four slaves from Mozambique in the artillery train. The field-guns were sixteen in number,* of various sizes.

At three o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 8th of January 1806 this motley force was under arms, and was advancing towards Blueberg from the dunes beyond Rietvlei, where the night had been spent, when the scouts brought word that the English were approaching. General Janssens had pushed on as rapidly as possible in hope of being able to reach the heights before his opponents, and thus secure an advantageous position, but in this he was disappointed, for at five o'clock the British troops were seen descending the shoulder of the Blueberg, marching in the cool of the morning towards Capetown. General Baird had formed his army in two columns. That on the right, consisting of the twenty-fourth, fifty-ninth, and eighty-third regiments, was commanded by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Baird. The left column was the Highland brigade, under Brigadier-General Ferguson. Altogether there were about four thousand rank and file, besides the artillerymen and five or six hundred sailors armed with pikes and drawing two howitzers and six field-guns.

The Dutch general now extended his force in a line covering

* In General Baird's report, it is stated that the Dutch had twenty-three cannon, but General Janssens gives only sixteen, and his military returns made before the battle are very complete in detail. The British general also greatly overestimated the Dutch force.

the whole English front. He knew that victory was almost hopeless, and he had long before placed on record his fixed conviction that the Cape Colony was too great a burden to be borne by the exhausted mother country, and that as it could not be held without heavy expense its loss would really be an advantage. But it was his duty to defend it, and now all his thoughts were how to make the most stubborn stand. He rode along the front of the line, saying a few encouraging words to the men, and met with hearty cheers from all except the battalion of Waldeck. These mercenaries were quite as well aware as the general himself that there was hardly a chance of success, and they were not disposed to be shot down for the mere honour of fighting.

By this time the armies were within cannon range, and the artillery on both sides was opening fire. A few balls fell on the ground occupied by the Waldeck battalion, and that regiment began to retreat. General Janssens rode up and implored the soldiers to stand firm, but in vain, for their retreat was quickly changed into flight. One wing of the twenty-second regiment then began to follow the example of the Waldeckers. It rallied for a moment under the general's command, but resumed its flight on observing that the Highland brigade, after firing a volley of musketry at too great a distance to have much effect, was advancing to charge with the bayonet. The burghers, the French corps, the remainder of the troops, and the coloured auxiliaries were behaving well, receiving and answering a heavy fire with artillery and hunting rifles. But the flight of the main body of regular troops made it impossible for the mixed force left on the field to stand the charge of the Highland brigade, and by order of General Janssens the remnant of the army fell back. Adjutant-General Rancke and Colonel Henry were sent to Rietvlei to rally the fugitive soldiers there. The last to leave the field was a company of mounted artillery under Lieutenant Pelegrini, who continued firing until the general in person commanded them to retire. On the spot he promoted the lieutenant to be a captain.

The loss of the English in the battle of Blueberg was one officer and fourteen rank and file killed, nine officers and one hundred and eighty rank and file wounded, and eight rank and file missing. The Dutch loss cannot be stated with any pretension to accuracy, for the roll-call when the fugitives were rallied shows the killed, wounded, and missing together, and there are no means of distinguishing one from the other. When the muster was made that afternoon, one hundred and ten Frenchmen, one hundred and eighty-eight soldiers of the different battalions, four burghers, seventeen Hottentots, ten Malays, and eight slaves did not answer to their names. It is tolerably certain that more were killed and wounded on the Dutch than on the English side, though probably the excess was not great. General Janssens himself was struck by a spent ball, but it rebounded from something in his side-pocket without injuring him.

At Rietvlei the defeated army was collected together. The general resolved to retire at once to the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, but he would not take the Waldeck regiment with him, as he declared it unworthy to associate with men of valour. He ordered it immediately to march to Capetown, that it might be included in whatever terms of capitulation Colonel Von Prophalow could obtain. One company of this regiment had been in another part of the field, and had behaved well. The men asked to be treated differently, and the general gave them the choice of accompanying him or their regiment, when they unanimously accepted the first alternative. The remaining companies of the Waldeck battalion then proceeded to Capetown. The French sailors and marines had behaved with the utmost bravery, and the French officers only retired from the battlefield in company with the general and Pelegrini's artillery. Janssens was loth to part with them, but Colonel Beauchêne represented that they could be of no service in the country, so they also were directed to proceed to Capetown, and left with expressions of esteem on both sides.

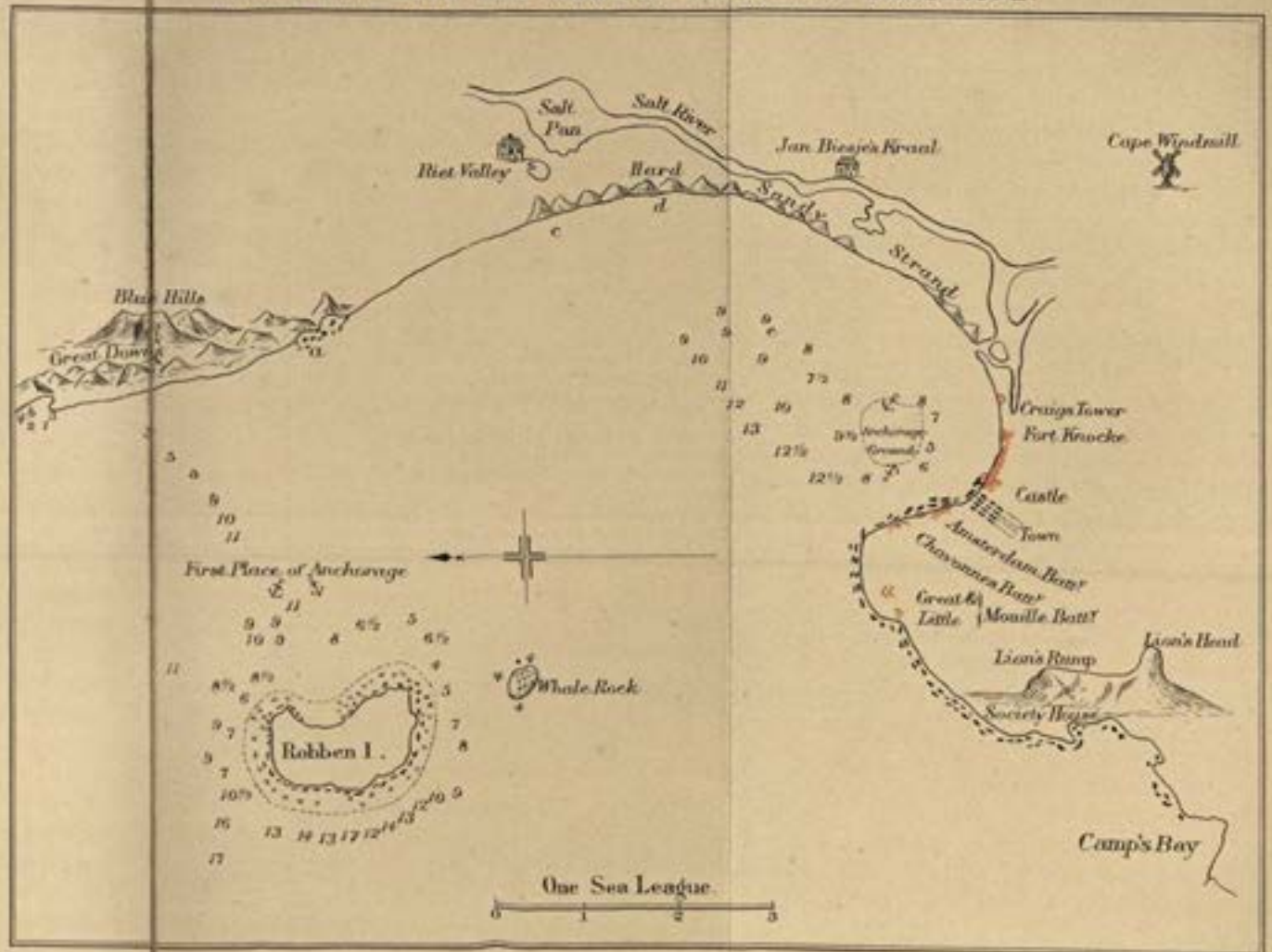
The general next sent an express to Major Horn, who was in command of the garrison of Simonstown, instructing him to

set fire to the *Bato*, a ship of war which was lying at anchor in Simon's Bay as a floating fort, to destroy the powder in the magazine, spike the guns in the batteries, and proceed along the shore of False Bay to join him at Hottentots-Holland pass. The garrison of Simonstown consisted of about fifty artillerymen and two companies of the Hottentot regiment. Major Horn carried out his instructions, and the *Bato* was destroyed.

An express was also sent by General Janssens to Capetown with a letter to the members of the council, requesting them, while it was still in their power to do so legally, to grant farms in freehold to certain burghers who had been conspicuous for bravery in the battle. The burghers, he remarked, had acted in such a way as to deserve a better fate than to be vanquished. But it was impossible to reward all. The names that he mentioned were those of the commandants Jacobus Linde and Pieter Human, the burghers Pieter Pietersen, Nicolaas Swart, Ps., Nicolaas Swart, Ks., Jan Rabe, Dirk Lourens, Servaas de Kock, Nicolaas Linde, and Marthinus Theunissen, also Hans Human and Pieter Mostert, whose brothers were killed. Upon receipt of this letter the councillors De Salis and Wakker lost no time in making the grants and having them properly recorded. Mr. Van Oudtshoorn had long since resigned on account of bodily infirmity, and Mr. Van Polanen, who only arrived in March 1804, went to Batavia on a special mission at the beginning of 1805, so that there were only the two—De Salis and Wakker—left. This meeting in the evening of the 8th of January was the last but one that was held under the Batavian administration. On the morning of the 9th the two councillors held another session, and furnished Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow with a small sum of money.

While the general was engaged in making these arrangements the soldiers and burghers were resting, but the remnant of the army now pushed on to Rooseboom. There it halted until eleven o'clock at night, when another march was made towards Hottentots-Holland. In the evening the British troops

TABLE BAY WITH THE ROAD OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.



(As attached to rowers of Commodore Sir Home Popham.)

William Clowes & Sons Limited, London.

a. The troops attempted to land here on the 5th January, but the surf was too high.
b. Losperd's Bay, where the troops landed 6th of January.
c. The Marines of the squadron landed here with two field-pieces on the 8th January.
d. Where squadron obliged enemy to move encampment.
e. Where flag of truce came off.

N.B.—The figures opposite Losperd's Bay shew the position of the squadron when covering the landing of the troops—

1. *Diadem*
2. *Leda*
3. *Protector*
4. *Encounter.*

arrived at Rietvlei, where they passed the night in the open air.

In the morning of the 9th General Baird resumed his march towards Capetown. At Salt River it was easy to communicate with the ships, and preparations were made to land a battering train and a supply of provisions. But the battering train was not needed, for Colonel Von Prophalow had no thought of attempting to defend the town, as he could not do so with any prospect of success. He therefore sent a flag of truce to request a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, in order to arrange terms of capitulation. Near Craig's tower this flag met General Baird, who would only grant thirty-six hours, and further required possession within six hours of the lines and Fort Knokke. His demand could not be refused, and that evening the fifty-ninth regiment took possession of Fort Knokke. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th the articles of capitulation were signed at Papendorp—now Woodstock—by Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow, Major-General Baird, and Commodore Home Popham.

These articles provided that the castle and other fortifications should be immediately surrendered to his Britannic Majesty's forces. The regular troops forming the garrison, and the Frenchmen of the *Atalante* and the *Napoleon*, were to become prisoners of war, and be sent to Great Britain as such, with the exception of officers of the army married into colonial families or possessing fixed property in the colony, who were to be at liberty to remain in the country during good behaviour, and with the further exception of such soldiers as might choose of their own free will to enlist in his Britannic Majesty's service. Colonists in arms were to return to their former occupations. Private property of all kinds was to be respected, but property of every description belonging to the Batavian government was to be delivered up. The burghers and other inhabitants were to preserve all their rights and privileges, and public worship as then existing was to be maintained. The paper money in circulation was to continue current until his Majesty's pleasure could be known, and the public lands and buildings were to remain as security for that

portion not lent to individuals. The inhabitants of Capetown were to be exempted from having troops quartered on them. And two Dutch ships sunk in Table Bay to prevent their seizure were to be raised by those who scuttled them, and delivered over in a perfect state of repair.

The division of the army under Brigadier General Beresford that had landed at Saldanha Bay met with much discomfort from the great heat and the rough roads, but was not opposed in its march. It succeeded in getting possession of a considerable number of cattle and horses at a Hottentot kraal and at Theefontein, for which the owners afterwards received compensation. Its advance guard reached Salt River just as the fifty-ninth regiment entered Fort Knokke.

Upon General Baird taking possession of Capetown, he found only two days' supply of flour and grain on hand. In the military granaries—chiefly at the Ziekenhuis and Mossel Bay—a few thousand muids of wheat were stored, but the whole stock in possession of the Batavian government was valued at only ninety thousand rixdollars. The last crop was nearly ready for delivery by the farmers, but the season had not been a good one, and the quantity was insufficient to meet the wants of the colonists and of the large military and naval force now added to the number of consumers. A frigate was therefore sent to St. Helena to procure all the flour and biscuit that could be spared, and as soon as possible three transports sailed for Madras to obtain rice and wheat.

On the morning of the 11th three proclamations were issued by General Baird. In the first, the inhabitants of the country districts were ordered to remain quietly at their respective habitations, and were assured of protection by the British government. Any who should join the Batavian troops under General Janssens, or afford them assistance, were threatened with consequences of the most serious nature; and those inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Capetown who had retired with the Dutch army were warned that if they did not return forthwith to their usual places of abode, orders would be given for the confiscation of their effects. In the second proclamation,

the civil servants and the principal inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty at noon that day. And in the third proclamation, Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, a staunch friend of the British government, was appointed chief civil magistrate, "it being General Baird's intention that all the immediate duties of the civil administration should be executed by him under his Excellency's own superintendence and directions."

General Janssens had in the meantime reached the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, where he might have been able to cut off communication with the eastern part of the country if the British force had not been so overwhelming. But of what use could it be to make a stand there? The farms which produced wheat and wine would soon be subject to the English, and the country beyond would also be open to them by way of the Roodezand kloof. Only one plan of prolonging the struggle therefore remained, which was to retire to the distant interior and await the arrival of a French expedition to recover the colony. But this did not appear very feasible. The most that could be said of his position resolved itself at last into this, that it was more favourable for obtaining terms than if he had fallen back upon Capetown after the defeat at Blueberg.

Within the next three days he learned that two English regiments had taken possession of the village of Stellenbosch and the Roodezand kloof, and that another regiment was about to proceed by sea to Mossel Bay, with a view of securing the Attaqua pass in the rear of his position. He ascertained also that the English general had required all the saddle-horses in the town to be taken to the barracks, where they were appraised and pressed into service, with a promise that if they were not returned to their owners when tranquillity was restored, they would be paid for. The greater number of the farmers with him being residents of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, he advised them to return to their homes, as their remaining longer might cause the confiscation of their property. But so attached were they to him and the cause which he represented that it was with difficulty they were persuaded to retire.

General Baird made the first advances, by addressing a letter to General Janssens, in which, after complimenting him for having discharged his duty to his country as became a brave man at the head of a gallant, though feeble, army, he was informed that the British forces in possession of the seat of government were of a magnitude to leave no question respecting the issue of further hostilities, so that a temporary and disastrous resistance was all he could possibly oppose to superior numbers. Under these circumstances, nothing could result but the devastation of the country he casually occupied, and such a consequence could not be contemplated without anguish by a generous mind, or be gratifying to a man who felt for the prosperity of a colony lately subject to his administration. It was therefore trusted that he would show a disposition to promote general tranquillity.

On the 13th this letter was forwarded by Brigadier-General Beresford, who was in command of the troops at Stellenbosch, and who announced at the same time that he was empowered to enter into negotiations for an honourable capitulation. General Janssens desired first to be correctly informed of occurrences at Capetown, and requested that Mr. Jan Andries Truter, who since October 1803 had been secretary to the council, might be permitted to visit him for that purpose. This was granted, and upon learning all that had transpired, he consented to the arrangement of terms. Some delay took place, owing to certain clauses proposed by one party being rejected by the other, but at length a draft made by General Janssens and modified by General Baird was agreed to and signed at Hottentots-Holland on the 18th of January.

It provided that the whole settlement should at once be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. That the Batavian troops should retain all private property, and the officers their swords and horses; but their arms, treasure, and public property of every description should be given up. That the troops should not be considered prisoners of war, but be embarked and sent to Holland at the expense of the British government, they engaging not to serve against his Britannic

Majesty or his allies before they were landed in Holland. That the officers and men should be subsisted at the expense of the British government until their embarkation, and when on board transports be treated in the same manner as British troops. That the Hottentot soldiers should be allowed to return to their homes, or to enter the British service, as they might think proper. And that the inhabitants of the colony were to enjoy the same rights and privileges as had been secured to those of Capetown by the capitulation of the 10th, except that the privilege of quartering soldiers upon them was reserved, as the country had not the same resources as the town.

The troops composing the force with General Janssens were reduced by desertion within the last few days to one hundred and eighty officers and men of the twenty-second battalion of infantry, one hundred and four officers and men of the ninth battalion of jagers, fifty-two officers and men of the fifth battalion of Waldeck, one hundred and forty-six dragoons, and one hundred and seventy-seven artillerymen, in all six hundred and fifty-nine individuals, exclusive of a few staff officers, who were to be sent to Holland.

There were also three hundred and forty-three men of the Hottentot regiment and fifty-five men of the artillery train, who were to remain in the country. General Baird directed Major Graham, of the ninety-third, to take as many of the Hottentots into the British service as could be induced to enlist. Most of them were willing to remain as soldiers, and they were formed into a corps which was soon afterwards enlarged to five hundred rank and file, and became known as the Cape regiment.

A good deal of trouble was caused to General Janssens after the capitulation by an act of the councillors De Salis and Wakker on the 6th of January, when the army was marching to meet the British forces at Blueberg. On that occasion the two councillors apportioned to certain individuals nearly £20,000 from the military chest as compensation for prospective loss of office, with the understanding that the money was to be returned if the British forces were defeated. The transaction

was intended to be secret, and no entry was made of it in the record of proceedings. It was, however, made known to the British officers by a slave girl belonging to the secretary Truter, who nine years later received her freedom as a reward. General Baird contended that the money ought to be surrendered, and General Janssens entirely disapproved of what the councillors had done; but it was no easy matter to induce the recipients to restore the amounts that had been awarded to them. Ultimately, however, all except about £1300 was given up. Further trouble was caused by the inability of Colonel Von Prophalow to compel the persons who sank the two ships in Table Bay to raise them again that they might be delivered as prizes.

But the controversy upon this matter at length came to an end, and seven cartel ships being prepared, the troops—ninety-four officers and five hundred and seventy-three rank and file—were embarked in them. One of the best of the transports—named the *Bellona*—was placed at the disposal of General Janssens, who had liberty to select such persons as he wished to accompany him. Thirty-one of the civil servants under the Batavian administration desired to return to Europe, and were allowed passages in the cartel ships. Fifty-three women and the same number of children also embarked. Just before going on board the *Bellona*, General Janssens, as his last act in South Africa, addressed a letter to General Baird, in which the following paragraph occurs:

"Allow me, Sir, to recommend to your protection the inhabitants of this colony, whose happiness and welfare ever since I have been here were the chief objects of my care, and who conducted themselves during that period to my highest satisfaction. Give no credit in this respect to Mr. Barrow nor to the enemies of the inhabitants. They have their faults, but these are more than compensated by good qualities. Through lenity, through marks of affection, and benevolence, they may be conducted to any good."

All being ready, on the 6th of March 1806 the squadron, bearing the last representative of the dominion of the Netherlands over the Cape Colony, set sail for Holland.

CHAPTER VI.

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID BAIRD, ACTING GOVERNOR, 10TH JANUARY 1806 TO 17TH JANUARY 1807.
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HENRY GEORGE GREY, ACTING GOVERNOR, 17TH JANUARY TO 21ST MAY 1807.
DU PRÉ ALEXANDER, EARL OF CALEDON, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 22ND MAY 1807, RETIRED 4TH JULY 1811.
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HENRY GEORGE GREY, ACTING GOVERNOR, 4TH JULY TO 5TH SEPTEMBER 1811.

THE Colony was now permanently a British possession, for on the 21st of October 1805 the battle of Trafalgar was fought, which secured the title-deeds. If that battle had given France, instead of England, command of the seas, the favourable result of the skirmish at Blueberg could only have had a temporary effect, for the position of the Cape was such that it could not long be held against the nation that commanded the road to it. International custom indeed required that until the conclusion of peace no important change should be made in connection with its internal government, or any measure be introduced that would subvert the existing condition of the people; but the British authorities were firmly resolved that it should never again be given up. Even before it was in their possession, while the expedition under Sir David Baird was on its way out, his Majesty's representative at the court of Prussia was officially informed that to secure peace England might consent to abandon other conquests, but the question of the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Malta must not so much as be discussed.

The great majority of the Dutch colonists naturally regretted being again brought under the dominion of another power,

and failed to appreciate the advantage of being connected with an empire vastly more powerful than their own fatherland. But all told, men, women, and children, they were not thirty thousand in number, and they were thinly scattered over an immense territory, so that they felt their best course would be to submit with as little show of discontent as possible. The heads of the government for several years were consequently able to report that the condition of the colony, as far as the European inhabitants were concerned, was one of perfect tranquillity. A few individuals, chiefly resident in Capetown, who had been warm adherents of the Orange party in days gone by, were not dissatisfied with the change, and were prepared to support the new government faithfully. From them officials were chosen to replace those whose situations became vacant, when it was not considered necessary to fill the posts with British born subjects.

During the long contest with the first Napoleon the unusual number of seamen and soldiers required could only be kept up by the allurement of gains from the enemy. The pay was too small to attract men, so the prospect of prize-money on a liberal scale was held out. This did not mean that the conquered were to be pillaged, but that public property acquired in war was to be divided according to fixed rules among the individuals who were so fortunate as to seize it. When the Cape Colony for the second time fell under the power of the British forces, in order to satisfy the army and navy it was necessary to make diligent search for everything liable to confiscation.

The artillery on the forts and military equipment and stores of all kinds were valued and paid for by the imperial treasury. The funds in the public chest, together with the balance of amounts due to the government after its debts were paid, formed another item in the list. The greater part of the money that had been distributed from the Dutch military chest was recovered, as has been already related. The government slaves were taken into possession, and were purchased for his Majesty's service from the agents for the captors. The

agricultural establishment at Groote Post was next claimed. The property of greatest value there consisted of horned cattle and sheep imported for breeding purposes. The commission for the improvement of agriculture and stock-breeding contested this claim, on the ground that the establishment was created for the public benefit and could not be regarded as government property. General Baird compromised the matter by purchasing the stock and implements for £5,000, to be paid out of the first available revenue, and keeping the establishment in existence for the service of the colony. Then came a seizure about which many complaints were made in the Netherlands, and which for several years was a subject of correspondence between the contending parties. To explain it, it is necessary to go back a little.

In 1789 Messrs. Fehrsen & Co., of Capetown, privately commenced a whale fishery, and two years later they obtained the consent of the government to its being carried on. In 1792 the commissioners Nederburgh and Frykenius threw open this branch of industry to anyone who chose to embark in it under certain conditions, but Messrs. Fehrsen & Co. remained the leading people in the business. In 1798, however, their affairs were wound up, and Mr. John Murray, an English merchant of Capetown, purchased the whole whaling plant at public auction. By him the business was enlarged, and was continued until 1803, when a ship arrived from Holland with three agents of an association termed the South African chartered fishing company, which had obtained from the government of the Batavian Republic the exclusive right of killing whales in the bays of the Cape Colony, with other privileges. Mr. Murray was now forced to cease his occupation and sell his plant to the new company, taking twenty-three shares in part payment. Upon the conquest of the colony in January 1806 the property of the South African chartered fishing company was claimed by the captors as fair spoil of war. Upon investigation it was ascertained that Mr. Murray was the only colonial shareholder, and he expressed himself delighted with the prospect of being able to conduct the business again on

his own account. On the ground, then, that the chartered fishing company was composed of persons who were subjects of countries at war with Great Britain, their property was confiscated for the benefit of the captors, and the whale fishery was again thrown open to any one who cared to embark in it.

Notwithstanding the hard language that was used in Holland and France concerning this occurrence, there is nothing to show that it was less justifiable than the seizure and confiscation of a Dutch or French merchant-ship would have been.

General Baird, who assumed the civil administration as acting governor, allowed most of the officials to retain their posts upon taking an oath of allegiance to the king of England; but a few preferred to return to Europe. Captain Jacob Glen Cuyler, of the 59th regiment, was sent to Algoa Bay to replace Captain Alberti as commandant of Fort Frederick and acting landdrost of Uitenhage. Captain J. Carmichael Smyth, of the Royal Engineers, was directed to act as secretary to government, Captain William Munro was appointed deputy auditor general, and Lieutenant D. Ross, of the Royal Navy, became port captain of Table Bay. These appointments, however, were only to be held until men should be sent from England to fill the posts permanently.

All the judges of the high court of justice, except Messrs. Strubberg and Hiddingh, resigned, so on the 5th of April new members were appointed to fill the vacant places. They were Messrs. Clement Matthiessen, Abraham Fleck, Pieter Jan Truter, and Pieter Diemel. The office of president was kept open for Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet, who was then in England. The former attorney-general, Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland, accepted the post of secretary. The court reverted to the condition in which it had been before 1803. The judges could now hold at the same time other situations in the civil service, it was not considered necessary that they should be trained lawyers, and they could be removed at the pleasure of the head of the government. Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld was appointed fiscal, and also vice-president of the court

of justice when cases were being tried in which he did not appear as public prosecutor.

On the 4th of March a French frigate named the *Volontaire* ran into Table Bay without a suspicion that the English had become masters of the colony. When too late, her captain discovered his error, and as he could neither resist nor escape, he surrendered without firing a shot. He had left Brest on the 15th of the preceding December in company with eleven ships of the line and four frigates under command of Admiral Villaumez. Shortly after sailing, some English transports were captured, and the troops on board, consisting of detachments of the 2nd and 54th regiments, two hundred and seventeen men in all, were transferred to the *Volontaire*, to be landed as prisoners of war at Teneriffe. Off that island two large ships, supposed to be English cruisers, were seen; so the frigate continued her course to Table Bay, where her captain expected to find the remainder of the fleet.

The Dutch flag was for some time after this kept flying on the Lion's rump, so that the French ships might enter the bay without suspicion; and such preparations were made that if they anchored they would be obliged to surrender. But they never made an appearance. One day a man named Cornelis Maas asserted in the governor's presence that he had seen them come to anchor in Saldanha Bay, desiring probably to put the English forces to needless trouble. But the statement was soon found to be false. As a warning to others, General Baird caused the offender to be flogged round the town at a cart's tail by the public executioner, and then banished him from the colony. After this no more false reports were spread.

The scarcity of grain for some time caused great anxiety. In March the government offered thirty-five shillings a muid for wheat delivered at the magazines in Capetown, without being able to procure as much as was needed. The bakers were forbidden to sell to families more than one pound of bread a day for each adult male and half a pound a day for each woman and child. The import duties on grain were taken off, with a view of inducing merchants to send for

supplies. After a few months the vessels sent to India returned with wheat and rice, and storeships arrived from England with biscuit and flour, so that actual famine was averted.

The next season was a very good one, and as the wheat was ripening General Baird adopted the old plan of the East India Company and established a granary in Capetown, with a view of keeping twenty thousand muids permanently in reserve. Paper money to the nominal value of £16,000 was created for this purpose, the price offered to the farmers being sixteen shillings a muid.

General Baird did not consider himself authorised to do more than what was barely necessary to maintain an efficient government until the secretary of state should issue instructions. Accordingly, he made very few changes, the only new regulations put in force by him being the following:

In February he issued a proclamation that all strangers found travelling in the interior of the colony without passes were to be arrested and sent to Capetown, a proclamation that was seldom enforced, though for many years afterwards it remained the law.

In April he annulled the marriage ordinance of Mr. De Mist, and substituted another by which the landdrost and heemraden of each district were to act as a matrimonial court for the purpose of ascertaining that there were no legal impediments to the union and issuing certificates to that effect, but marriages were to be solemnised only by ordained ministers of the Gospel.

In the same month he fixed the customs duties provisionally at 3 per cent of the value on British goods imported from British possessions in British vessels and 7 per cent when imported in neutral vessels, 10 per cent on foreign goods imported in neutral vessels, 5 per cent of the prime cost on Indian goods imported in British vessels and 7 per cent if imported in neutral vessels, 5 per cent on the sales by auction of any prize goods, 25 rixdollars on every male slave and 20 rixdollars on every female slave over twelve years of age, and 15 rixdollars on every slave child, but no slaves were to be

imported without special permission. On colonial produce exported to Great Britain 2 per cent of the value was to be paid, and 3 per cent when not sent there.

In May he made an improvement in the postal arrangements to the distant drostdies, by engaging a number of Hottentot runners. The runners were stationed at farm-houses along the lines of road, and the farmers were required to provide them with food and quarters, but were paid twenty shillings a month each for doing so.

The penalty to be imposed upon a farmer who should refuse to furnish his waggon, oxen, or horses for public service, upon the requisition of a fieldcornet, was raised to £10.

To meet the demand for labourers, which has never ceased in the colony from its foundation to the present day, in October General Baird allowed the negroes in a Portuguese slave ship named the *Dido*, that had put into Table Bay, to be landed and sold by public auction, and in November he gave permission to Mr. Alexander Tennant, a merchant of Capetown, to import five hundred from Mozambique.

As matters were in a satisfactory condition in South Africa, and an attack by an enemy was not apprehended, the British commander in chief allowed himself to be persuaded by the commodore to undertake a new enterprise without the authority of the government at home. Tidings reached the Cape that the colonists along the estuary of the Plata were greatly disaffected and that the Spanish garrisons were so weak that they would be able to offer little or no resistance, so it was determined to get possession of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. Sir Home Popham had reason to believe that the British government would approve of this proceeding. In October 1804 he had discussed with Mr. Pitt and Viscount Melville the matter of assisting the South American colonies to throw off the authority of Spain, and with their concurrence he had entered into negotiations with the revolutionary general Francisco de Miranda. He had even been selected to command a force destined for the conquest of Buenos Ayres, but the project had been afterwards abandoned. At the time that the

expedition sailed from the Cape of Good Hope General Miranda was engaged in making an attack upon the coast of Venezuela, which proved unsuccessful; but there was no connection between the two enterprises. Their objects indeed were widely different: that of Miranda being to convert the South American provinces into independent nationalities, that of Sir Home Popham being to make the lands bordering on the river La Plata dependencies of Great Britain, and to divert into his own country the wealth that flowed from them into Spain and France.

The 59th regiment and the recruits for the Indian army had already been sent to the East. The 71st regiment, eight hundred and eighty-nine strong, thirty-three artillerymen, and seven dragoons, under command of Brigadier-General William Carr Beresford, were now embarked in transports, and with the entire squadron under Sir Home Popham sailed from Table Bay on the 13th of April 1806. At St. Helena two hundred and fifty additional soldiers were obtained. On the 26th of June the troops with the marines and some sailors of the squadron were landed close to Buenos Ayres, and after a feeble opposition, on the 28th that city was occupied.

Nothing further could be attempted without reinforcements, for which a request was sent to General Baird. The 47th regiment of infantry happened to be in Table Bay on its way to India when this request arrived, and it was detained. To it were added the 38th regiment, the men of the 54th that had been prisoners in the *Volontaire*, that portion of the 20th light dragoons which was in South Africa, and one hundred and fifty-eight of the 21st light dragoons,—the last named regiment having arrived in the preceding month to strengthen the Cape garrison,—making two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven men in all; and at the end of August this force left to join General Beresford. In the meantime, on the 12th of August Buenos Ayres was retaken by the Spaniards, and General Beresford with all those who landed with him were made prisoners of war. Assistance was sent from England, and with the detachment from the Cape on the 3rd of February 1807 Monte Video was taken by

storm. But the enterprise was shortly afterwards abandoned. An arrangement was made with the Spanish authorities for the release of the prisoners, on the 9th of September Monte Video was evacuated, and immediately thereafter the last of the British forces left the Plata. Some of the troops returned to England, the 47th and 89th regiments of infantry proceeded to India, and the 87th was sent to the Cape, where it arrived on the 21st of October. The detachment of the 21st light dragoons also returned to South Africa.

Rear Admiral Charles Stirling was directed to proceed from the Plata and take command on the Cape station, where since the departure of Sir Home Popham there had been no vessel of war except the 18-gun brig *Harrier* that had arrived from India in February 1807. On the 1st of September he reached Table Bay with the *Diadem* and *Raisonable*, two 64-gun ships, and in the following month was joined by the *Grampus*, 50-gun ship, the *Cormorant*, 18-gun sloop, the *Staunch*, 10-gun brig, and the armed schooner *Paz*. In December he was further reinforced by the *Laurel*, 22-gun sloop, the *Otter*, 18-gun sloop, and the *Sapphire*, 18-gun sloop, so that at the close of 1807 there was again a strong fleet in South African waters.

The troops composing the garrison at this time consisted of the 21st light dragoons, several hundred artillerymen, and six regiments of the line: the 24th, 72nd, 83rd, 87th, 93rd, and the fourth battalion of the 60th. The last named regiment arrived in July 1806 in a skeleton state, and was filled up by Waldeck prisoners of war who entered the British service. In March 1808 it was sent to Barbadoes, and was not replaced. In addition to these, there was the Hottentot infantry regiment, maintained at the cost of the colony, which early in 1807 was enlarged to eight hundred rank and file.

Upon tidings of the conquest of the colony reaching England, the king's government decided that it should be ruled until the conclusion of peace in exactly the same manner as when Lord Macartney was governor. The heads of departments were to be sent out from England, and were to receive the same salaries as were paid in 1797. The

arrangements were hurried on as soon as information was received of the expedition to the Plata, which met with the serious disapproval of the ministry, as having been undertaken without their authority or knowledge. Du Pré Alexander, second earl of Caledon, one of the representative peers of Ireland, was selected as governor. He was then only twenty-nine years of age, but he had already shown that he possessed abilities of a high order. In character he was upright and amiable, in disposition good-tempered, courteous, and benevolent, though when occasion required firmness no man could be more resolute than he. He was a tory as well as an aristocrat, of course, or he would not have been appointed to high office by the English government of that day; but no one could have been better adapted to make despotic rule sit lightly upon a people. As lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces Lieutenant General the honourable Henry George Grey was appointed. Mr. Andrew Barnard was restored to his old office of colonial secretary, and Captain Christopher Bird received the post of deputy secretary. The other offices of importance were also filled, but as changes rapidly took place among the holders, it would occupy space needlessly to give the names.

Lieutenant-General Grey was the first of the newly appointed staff to arrive in South Africa. As his commission authorised him to carry on the administration when the governor was absent, on the 17th of January 1807 he took the oaths of office. On the following day General Baird embarked in the transport *Paragon*, and sailed for England. He had won the esteem of the colonists by his kindly bearing towards them, and respectful addresses were presented by the public bodies on his departure. He left South Africa with the rank of lieutenant-general.

In the afternoon of the 21st of May the earl of Caledon and Mr. Barnard arrived in the ship of war *Antelope*, and on the following morning the governor took the oaths of office.

The system under which the colony was henceforth ruled was despotic in form, though tempered by moderation and a

disposition to promote the interests of the community. The governor could make what laws he chose, unrestrained by a council; but he was responsible to the secretary of state, and in all important matters acted under that minister's instructions. Of his own will he could fix prices for any produce required for the army, and assess the quantity each farmer was compelled to deliver,—a power frequently used. The patronage of the civil service, except the heads of departments sent out from England, was entirely in his hands, and at any time, without even assigning a reason, he could suspend or dismiss any official appointed in the colony, with the sole exception of the president of the high court of justice. He personally directed and controlled the different departments. With the lieutenant-governor he formed a court of appeal in civil cases of over £200 value.

In addition to all these powers, after the 10th of June 1808 the earl of Caledon and his successors were vested with an office which no former governor had held, that of judge in criminal cases of appeal. The high court of justice carried on its proceedings according to an enactment of Philip II of Spain and the Netherlands in 1570, by which a final sentence could only be pronounced in criminal cases when the accused confessed his guilt or the evidence against him was direct and overwhelming. In other cases an appeal could be carried to a superior court. Under the rule of the East India Company, appeals were made to the high court of justice at Batavia, a copy of the evidence being forwarded, upon which a decision was given. The earl of Caledon was instructed to appoint one or two assessors, and to act with them as a court of appeal in criminal cases. This was independent of his power of mitigating or suspending sentences passed by any of the courts.

On the 25th of March 1807 the parliament of Great Britain abolished the slave trade in British ships and by British subjects to or from any part of the coast of Africa, to take effect from the 1st of May. When this was communicated to the Cape government, Mr. Tennant had only

received three hundred and eighty-three out of the five hundred slaves which General Baird had given him leave to import, but he had contracted with a Portuguese sea-captain to bring another cargo. Towards the close of the year the Portuguese vessel arrived in Table Bay, with two hundred and twenty slaves on board. After a little consideration, the governor resolved to allow one hundred and seventeen to be landed; but as Mr. Tennant had no permission to import a greater number, he refused to let the remainder be put ashore. These hundred and seventeen slaves were the last that were openly landed and sold in the Cape Colony; but it was discovered at a later period that some had been smuggled in.

With the earl of Caledon's concurrence, Mr. Tennant directed the vessel to proceed with the balance of her freight to South America. On the passage she was captured by his Majesty's brig *Harrier*, and was sent back to Table Bay with a prize crew, on the ground that the owner of the slaves was a British subject. Her arrival—in January 1808—caused a good deal of perplexity. The ship was in need of repair, and so the slaves were placed on Robben Island until some decision could be come to. But in a south-east gale she parted her cable, was driven to sea, and was finally wrecked on Jutten Island. The governor then made up his mind. The negroes could not be left where they were, they could not be sold as slaves in the colony, and they could not be exported, so Mr. Tennant was obliged to content himself with having them apprenticed to him for a period of seven years.

In July 1807 Lord Caledon proposed to the secretary of state that the government slaves should be sold, and the lodge be converted into public offices. Under the Batavian administration the establishment had been greatly reduced, and at this time it consisted of only one hundred and eighty-nine men, seventy-three women, and twenty-three children. Some of the men and women were so old and infirm as to be unfit for severe labour, and the cost of their maintenance was greater than the benefit derived from them. All the public offices were in the castle where room was required

for the military staff, so that a double purpose would be served by getting rid of the slaves. His Excellency was of opinion that it would be more advisable to sell them than to set them free, as in the latter case they would almost certainly become idle paupers. "The law," he wrote, "affords the slaves ample redress against the ill-usage of their masters, nor does the bad treatment of them often require its intervention."

The governor's proposal was modified by the secretary of state in such a manner that the inmates of the lodge were not put up to public auction; but respectable people—especially military officers—were permitted to select slaves and to remove them on payment of £30 for each one, the governor's permission in every instance being necessary. In this manner the number was slightly reduced, and in August 1810 those who remained were confined to one wing of the lodge, and a portion of the space vacated was converted into chambers for the judges. Another portion was cleared away, and on the vacant ground was constructed a courtroom for holding trials, which was opened for use on the 19th of January 1815. In March 1811 the slaves who were left were removed to a smaller building at the upper end of the garden, in the grounds of the present South African college. The western wing of the lodge was then converted into offices. At the same time a roadway—named Bureau-street—was opened between the Heerengracht and Church-square, the church grounds having previously extended to the side wall of the lodge. Gradually different officials were moved from the castle, the colonial secretary remaining there until the 1st of March 1814; and the old slave lodge—greatly altered, however, and partly rebuilt—became, what it still remains, suites of offices for various departments of government.

For nearly three years after the surrender of General Janssens the utmost tranquillity prevailed throughout the western part of the colony, but in October 1808 a slight disturbance took place among the slaves on the corn farms in Zwartland, the present district of Malmesbury.

In Capetown there was living a slave named Louis, a native of the island of Mauritius. His wife was a free woman, and he paid his owner a fixed sum monthly and worked about town, a custom not uncommon in those days. The old law that people of half European blood should be free on coming to the age of twenty-five years had long before this time fallen into disuse,—except when the owner of a slave woman was the parent of her children, in which case the offspring of the connection could not be kept in bondage after their father's death,—and Louis was so light in colour that he was able to pass for a white man. In his house a young Irish labourer, named James Hooper, occasionally lodged; and between them a wild impracticable plan was concocted for setting at liberty the whole slave population. They purposed to induce a large number of blacks in the country to join them, and then to make themselves masters of Capetown and proclaim a general emancipation.

The next to enter into the conspiracy was a black slave named Abraham, who was born at the Cape. Early in October Hooper and Abraham rode on horseback to the farm of Pieter Louw, at the Zwartland, where Hooper represented himself as a traveller and the black as his servant. They stayed there overnight, and Abraham persuaded the slaves, who were numerous, to join the plot. After their return to Capetown, a young Irish sailor named Michael Kelly became their associate.

On the 24th of October 1808 Hooper hired from a livery stable a tent-waggon with eight horses, stating that it was for an English officer who was going to Rietvlei on duty. He, Louis, Abraham, and Kelly then went in the waggon to Louw's farm in Zwartland, where Louis, who was dressed in military costume and wore a sword, was represented as a Spanish sea-captain. Louw was not at home, but his family entertained the strangers in the usual hospitable manner. Next morning early the two white men abandoned the enterprise and left the place on foot, but Louis and Abraham were joined by ten slaves and a Hottentot, and, taking possession of Louw's

waggon, they proceeded to the farm of Willem Basson. Here they announced that the fiscal had given orders for all the slaves to repair to Capetown to be set free, and that the white men were to be made prisoners.

Being joined by Basson's slaves, they took possession of his horses, vehicles, guns, ammunition, and whatever provisions they could find. In this manner thirty-four different farms at Zwartland, Koeberg, and Tigerberg were visited, from each of which the white men, after being bound, were removed, and all the horses, carts, waggons, guns, and ammunition were taken away. Provisions and brandy were also freely appropriated, but not a drop of blood was shed during the whole of the rash proceedings. In some places the slaves refused to join the insurgents.

On the 27th the different parties into which the band had divided turned towards Capetown, which was then garrisoned by nearly five thousand soldiers. That evening the occurrence was reported to the governor, who at once sent out a strong body of cavalry and infantry, and within a few hours three hundred and twenty-six slaves were made prisoners without the slightest resistance. Five of the leaders escaped at the time, but were apprehended shortly afterwards.

A brief examination by the fiscal showed that far the greater number of the insurgents really believed they had been acting under his orders, in consequence of which all but fifty-one were sent back to their masters, with a caution to be more careful in future. The white men who were confined in waggons were released, and the plundered property was restored to its owners.

The fifty-one prisoners were brought to trial before the high court of justice, and on the 7th of December sentence was pronounced. Sixteen were condemned to be hanged and their bodies to be afterwards exposed in various places, one was acquitted, and the remaining thirty-four were condemned to various kinds of punishment. The sentences were mitigated by the governor, however, so that only Louis, Hooper, Abraham, and two slaves who had taken a leading part, were hanged

and afterwards exposed in chains. Seventeen suffered various punishments ranging from being flogged to imprisonment with hard labour in chains for life, and the others, after witnessing the executions, were sent back to their masters.

Upon the abolition of the oceanic slave trade, the Cape Colony was made the receptacle for negroes rescued in the southern seas, a most undesirable class of people to be introduced into a country adapted for European colonisation. Such British vessels as were detected with slaves on board, and such slave ships belonging to nations at war with England as were captured by British cruisers, were sent to Table Bay to be condemned by a court of admiralty. A few of the negroes were then selected for service in connection with the army and the ships of war on the station, the others were placed under the care of the collector of customs, and were apprenticed by him for a period of fourteen years to such persons as he approved of. In this manner was introduced a considerable proportion of the people from whom the present coloured population of the colony is descended.

The great extent of the districts into which the colony was divided made proper supervision by the landdrosts impossible, but the public revenue was insufficient to enable the government to reduce their size and increase their number as much as could be wished. After a careful examination of the country by a special commissioner—Lieutenant Colonel Collins,—who drew up an exhaustive report upon the subject, the earl of Caledon went as far in this direction as the means at his disposal would admit of.

On the 1st of February 1808 a portion of the district of Stellenbosch was cut off and added to Tulbagh. The new boundary of Tulbagh was declared to be the Berg river from its mouth to the junction of the Koopmans river, the Koopmans river to its source, the mountain range to Baviaans' Kloof, and a line crossing the Bosjesveld in a north-easterly direction through Gorees Hoogte to the Zwartebergen. The opstal of the farm Jan-Dissel's-Vlei was purchased from Mr. S. van Reenen for six thousand rixdollars, and a deputy landdrost

was stationed there, to collect revenue and exercise jurisdiction in petty cases. He was subject to directions from the landdrost of the district. Mr. Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld received the appointment of deputy landdrost, and held the situation until the 1st of January 1810, when he was succeeded by Mr. Jan Hendrik Fischer.

On the 31st of March 1809 the court of commissioners for petty cases in the Cape district was abolished, and a court of landdrost and six heemraden was created, so as to bring the system of administering justice into uniformity with other parts of the colony. A distinction, however, was made between Capetown, Simonstown, and the remainder of the district. In Simonstown a deputy fiscal was stationed, who held a court for the trial of petty cases, and the landdrost and heemraden had no judicial authority, but performed municipal duties and the duties of a matrimonial court. In Capetown the landdrost and heemraden succeeded to the duties of the court of commissioners for petty cases and the matrimonial court, but had no other authority, the burgher senate being charged with municipal duties. In Capetown was included the suburb Papendorp—now Woodstock—until the 23rd of April 1814, when the military lines between Fort Knokke and the Devil's peak were declared the boundary between the town and the district. In all other parts of the old Cape district the landdrost and heemraden had the same powers and duties assigned to them as similar boards elsewhere. Mr. J. Zorn was appointed first landdrost.

On the 23rd of April 1811 that portion of Swellendam east of the Gaurits river was proclaimed a separate district, and received the name George, in honour of the reigning king. Mr. Adriaan Gysbert van Kervel was appointed its first landdrost, and was stationed at the old government post of Outeniqualand. In June a village, which received the same name as the district, was laid out there, and erven were granted in it free of charge to six families of woodcutters who had previously been living on the border of the neighbouring forest. On the 8th of October thirty erven were sold by public auction.

Buildings then began to be erected, but the growth of the village was slow, though shortly afterwards it was made the centre of a new congregation of the Dutch reformed church. In May 1812 the reverend Tobias Johannes Herold, a young colonist who had just returned from completing his studies in Europe, was appointed clergyman of George, but was not required to assume the duty until a parsonage could be built. Landdrost Van Kervel nominated the first elders and deacons, who were formally approved by the governor on the 9th of February 1813. Two months later Mr. Herold arrived in the village, and public services were thereafter held in a farmhouse in the neighbourhood until a place of worship could be erected.

On the same date that the eastern portion of Swellendam was thus cut off, that district was extended westward by the addition to it of a tract of land taken from Stellenbosch. The new boundary was declared to be the Steenbrazem river to its source, and thence a line running west of Houw Hoek and Genadendal to the mountain range. But as a deputy landdrost was stationed at the Zwartberg baths, now the village of Caledon, the chief official had no other duty than that of general supervision to perform in the western part of the district. Mr. Jan Hendrik Frouenfelder was appointed deputy landdrost.

A congregation of the Dutch reformed church had already been formed at the Zwartberg baths. In the preceding year a few pious farmers—Messrs. W. Wessels, P. L. de Bruyn, J. P. Marais, and H. I. Swart—requested leave to build a church in that neighbourhood, which led the governor to found a village and station a clergyman there. The farm on which the baths were situated belonged to Mr. J. Rademan, but he was willing to sell it, and on the 21st of December 1810 it was transferred to the government for ten thousand rixdollars. Building lots were laid out upon it, and with the proceeds of their sale the treasury partly recovered the purchase amount of the property. The landdrost of Stellenbosch then nominated elders and deacons, who were approved by the governor on the

27th of May 1811. The reverend M. C. Vos was transferred from Zwartland's church to the new village, where he commenced duty shortly before the other members of the consistory were appointed. A place of worship was opened for use on the 1st of January 1813.

In October 1808 an expedition was fitted out by order of Lord Caledon, with the object of exploring the country between Lithako and the Portuguese province of Mozambique. It consisted of Dr. Cowan, assistant surgeon of the 83rd regiment, and Lieut. Donovan with twenty Hottentots of the Cape Corps. They had as guides a white man named Kruger and a halfbreed, both of whom had for many years been wandering among the Betshuana and Korana tribes. The missionary Anderson accompanied the expedition as far as the principal kraal of the Bangwaketsi, who are described in a letter from Dr. Cowan as "so far civilised that the wealthy inhabitants are possessed of slaves and servants." Dr. Cowan's letter was dated on the 24th of December, from latitude 24° 30′ S., longitude 28° E., but the latter is probably incorrect. From this place Mr. Anderson turned back, and brought to the colony the last authentic tidings of the expedition. Nothing certain is known of the fate of the explorers. According to reports received from individuals of the southern Betshuana tribes during the next few years, they were all murdered by people farther north; but these accounts differ greatly, and cannot be relied upon. It is now generally supposed that they perished of fever when not very far from Mozambique.

The Moravian institution at Genadendal had proved of the greatest utility to the Hottentots there. The missionaries, working quietly and avoiding interference with political questions, were esteemed alike by the government, passing strangers, and the colonists in general; while the results of their labours were visible not only on their own grounds, but in the appearance and conduct of the people under their care who went out to work among the farmers. The only objection to their system was made by missionaries of other denominations, who were

of opinion that the Moravians kept their pupils under tutelage to such an extent that they could not exercise the social and political rights of men. But that was just the feature of their system most admired by thoughtful observers who admitted that people emerging from barbarism require constant guidance and control.

Lord Caledon was so impressed with the good work done by the Moravians at Genadendal that he urged them to form another station. In the large tract of land called Groenekloof there had been from the early days of the settlement a location reserved for the remnant of the Hottentot clans that under the name of Cochoquas, Goringhaiquas, and Gorachouquas, were found in possession of the whole Cape district when white men first settled in South Africa. Small-pox and brandy had nearly exterminated those people, but still a few remained, with whose blood that of Europeans and of negro slaves had been mixed sufficiently to give them some stamina. When Groenekloof was set apart as pasture ground for the butcher who contracted to supply the government with meat, it was stipulated that he should not deprive the Hottentots of any land which they required for their own use. But after the terrible loss of life occasioned by the first outbreak of small-pox, the government thought it better to reserve a special tract for the natives, and this had ever since been in their possession. It was not surveyed, nor was a title-deed issued, but white people were prevented from encroaching upon it, and it was as well defined as the ordinary loan farms. This reserve, which was called Louwskloof, adjoined the government farm Kleine Post, upon which there was a good dwelling house and some outbuildings.

In December 1807 Lord Caledon invited the Moravians to establish a mission there, and offered them for the purpose the Kleine Post and the tract of land called Cruywagens Kraal, which together with Louwskloof would make a commodious station. The offer was accepted, and in March 1808 the mission was commenced. The new station was named Mamre. As a civilising centre it was for several years not very success-

ful, and it never attained the importance of Genadendal, though in course of time a great improvement was effected in the condition of the coloured people who had previously resided there, as well as of those who were afterwards attracted to the place by the presence of men who took the warmest interest in their welfare.

The London society's station of Bethelsdorp was not regarded with favour by the authorities. Outside of the missionary circle an opinion was unanimously held that no good was being done there, that the Hottentots were encouraged in idleness, and that the place was a retreat for bad characters. Men who cannot be suspected of unfriendly feelings towards the native races or the Christian religion agreed with the colonists that it would be better if the station were broken up. Major Richard Collins, of the 83rd regiment, who was directed to inspect and report upon it, recommended that the London missionaries should not be permitted to teach Hottentots, but be confined to the Bushmen on the northern border, where they should be placed under the superintendence of respectable farmers; and he advised that the people assembled at Bethelsdorp should be allowed the choice of retiring to one of the Moravian stations, or of going into service with colonists. The judges of the high court of justice, the military officers at Fort Frederick, and the landdrost of Uitenhage concurred in this opinion.

Lord Caledon thought that if the station was moved to more fertile ground in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay it might answer better, and in December 1807 he directed Mr. Faure, landdrost of Swellendam, to meet Dr. Vanderkemp at the house of Mr. George Rex, an English gentleman residing on the farm Melkhoutkraal at the Knysna, and select a suitable place. But Messrs. Faure and Rex reported that "nothing could be done or proposed satisfactory to Dr. Vanderkemp." The governor then declared his resolution to remove two-thirds of the Hottentots to some better place, and to prohibit Kaffirs from settling at Bethelsdorp; but he did not carry his intention into effect.

A great many complaints having been received concerning depredations by Bushmen along the northern border, early in 1808 Lord Caledon sent Major Collins to inspect the country and, if possible, to devise some remedy. The major ascertained that the complaints were not exaggerated; but the suggestions which he made could not be carried out.

In the following year the same officer, then a lieutenant-colonel, was sent to explore the country north-east of the colony, and to ascertain the condition of the different branches of the Xosa tribe. To enable him to carry out his duties thoroughly, he was appointed special commissioner of the districts of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet, and was empowered to issue any instructions there that he might consider necessary for the public welfare.

On the 23rd of January 1809 Colonel Collins, with Dr. Cowdery, who was assistant surgeon of the 83rd regiment, Mr. Andries Stockenstrom junior, and a party of attendants, left the village of Graaff-Reinet, and travelled almost due north to the Orange river. They then traced the stream upward, and on the 3rd of February saw a river of considerable size pour its waters into the Orange on the side opposite to that on which they were. Colonel Collins named it the Caledon in honour of the governor. Two days later they crossed a stream which was known to be the same that at its source was called the Stormbergspruit by the farmers of the Tarka, so no name was given to it. On the 7th they came to another stream of considerable size flowing from the south into the Orange. Colonel Collins named it the Grey river, in honour of the lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces, but it is now known as the Kraai. The party could not find a ford to cross this stream, so they kept up its left bank for a short distance, and then turned towards the Tarka. In the previously unknown country through which they had travelled there were no inhabitants except a few Bushmen and a little party of Xosas of the Imidange clan, under the petty captain Dlela, who had wandered away from the rest of their people.

The travellers now directed their course south-eastward until they crossed the Amatola mountains, when they turned to the north-east, and passed the Kei just below the junction of the Kabusi. A ride of three hours from the Kei brought them to the kraal of Buku, right-hand son of Kawuta, and chief of a large section of the Galekas. Another ride of six hours brought them to the kraal of Hintsa, great son of Kawuta, and consequently paramount chief of the whole Xosa tribe. His kraal was in sight of the sea, about midway between the Kei and Bashee rivers. Colonel Collins ascertained that a few years previously Hintsa had resided on the right bank of the Kei, but owing to a quarrel with Gaika he now kept east of that river. He was on good terms with the Tembu tribe, and was nearly related to its paramount chief Vusani, then a minor, his mother having been a sister of Ndaba, Vusani's father. The Tembus lived near the sea between the Bashee and Umtata rivers, but one small clan of that tribe, under a petty captain named Tshatshu, occupied a kraal only a few miles east of the Tsomo.

On the coast near Hintsa's kraal two white men were found living after the manner of savages. One was a deserter from the British army, named Henry McDaniel, the other was a South African named Lochenberg. They could not be induced to return to the colony.

The travellers went no farther than Hintsa's kraal. They returned by the upper Keiskama, where they had an interview with Gaika, who was found very poor, as his enemies had driven off nearly all his cattle. The country from the Kei to the colonial boundary was without inhabitants, except in the valleys of the upper Keiskama and Kat rivers.

In the Zuurveld Colonel Collins visited Ndlambe and his son Umhala, and ascertained that there was not the slightest intention on their part to leave the colony. At Uitenhage he issued an order requiring the farmers to dismiss their Kaffir servants and interdicting intercourse of any kind between the white people and the Xosas.

In his report to the governor, dated 6th of August 1809, Colonel Collins advised that the Xosas in the colony should be expelled by force, and that plots of land only one hundred and twenty acres in extent should be offered to Europeans at a very low rent, so as to obtain a tolerably dense population in the Zuurveld. He recommended that the boundary farther north should be extended to the Koonap river, and the district thus annexed be filled with colonists in the same manner. There was not then a single hut west of the Koonap, but to avoid all semblance of wrong-doing he thought the land should be purchased from the Xosas. If this were not done it would be impossible to settle a population sufficiently dense to protect itself on that part of the frontier, as the ground on the existing colonial side had been given out in farms of three miles diameter. Further, he was in favour of establishing magistrates close to the boundary, so as to prevent intercourse between the colonists and the Xosas and to maintain order. It was not possible, however, for the governor to carry out his proposals in these respects, even had he been disposed to attempt to do so.

In 1809 a radical change was made in the legal position of the Hottentots within the colony. The theory of the Dutch law was that they were a free and independent people, entitled to govern themselves and to come and go when and where they liked except upon private property. Their personal liberty had never been interfered with, except in the instance of children of Hottentot mothers and slave fathers, born and reared upon farms, who could be claimed as apprentices upon reaching the age of eighteen months, and in the instance of a small number of individuals of both sexes who lived in a disreputable manner on the Cape flats and in the outskirts of the town, who were placed under strict surveillance by a resolution of the council of policy on the 29th of June 1787. They were regarded as subject to the colonial courts only in cases where the interests of white people were affected. They paid no taxes, and could not be called out for public services as white men were.

This was the theory of the law, but in point of fact tribal government of the Hottentots had long since ceased to exist within the colonial boundaries. There were still plots of land reserved for their use, and at each reserve there was a captain acknowledged by the European authorities, but he had really little or no power. The great majority of the Hottentot people were of their own accord living with farmers, and regarded the poorest white man with much greater respect than they regarded the hereditary chiefs of their own race. Thus it became a necessity for the European courts of law to take cognisance of such crimes as murder and assault committed by one Hottentot against another not on a reserve; but in general petty offences among themselves went altogether unpunished.

This system was very objectionable to the British administration from 1795 to 1803, but no attempt was then made to alter it. To General Janssens it seemed natural enough, and in his agreement with Klaas Stuurman he marked his approval of it, much to the astonishment of the succeeding government. The earl of Caledon resolved to do away with it entirely, and on the 1st of November 1809 he issued a proclamation which removed all vestiges of chieftainship from the Hottentots in the colony, and restrained those people from wandering about at will.

The preamble of the proclamation asserts a necessity that Hottentots, in the same manner as other inhabitants, should be subject to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode and occupations, and that they should find encouragement for preferring to enter service rather than lead an indolent life, by which they were rendered useless to themselves and the community at large.

The governor therefore ordained that every Hottentot in the different districts of the colony, in the same manner as other inhabitants, should have a fixed place of abode; that an entry thereof should be made in the office of the fiscal or the respective landdrosts; and that no Hottentot should change his residence from one district to another without a certificate from the fiscal or the landdrost of the district from which he

was removing, which certificate he was to exhibit to the fiscal or the landdrost of the district where he intended to settle, for the purpose of having it registered. Every Hottentot who should neglect this regulation was to be considered a vagabond, and be treated accordingly.

All contracts of service of Hottentots for a month or a longer period were to be made in writing before the fiscal, a landdrost, or a fieldcornet, and a copy was to be registered. In case of this not being done, the Hottentot could claim the benefit of the engagement, but the employer had no ground for action. Ample provision was made in the proclamation for the enforcement of punctual payment of wages, for the release of the Hottentot upon expiration of the term of service, and for his protection from ill treatment.

Lastly, every Hottentot going about the country was required to be furnished with a pass, either from his commanding officer if he was in the military service, or his employer, or the magistrate of the district, under penalty of being considered and treated as a vagabond. All persons were empowered to demand a pass from any Hottentot who appeared on their farms, and in case of his not being provided with one, to deliver him up to a fieldcornet, landdrost, or fiscal.

From this date Hottentots in every case were regarded as subject to the colonial courts of law, to taxation, and to be called upon to perform public services. A few small clans that were desirous of remaining independent moved over the Orange river into Great Namaqualand, but a vast majority of the people accepted the new condition of things without murmur. Certainly no measure could have been more advantageous to the Hottentots than this, though it was strongly opposed at a later date by the philanthropic societies in Great Britain as having a tendency to force them into service. It is hardly too much to say that it saved them from utter destruction.

The locations assigned by General Janssens to people of this race had in no instance answered their purpose. Not a family of those sent from Rietvlei in 1803 remained upon the

ground allotted to them, their love of change and of a wandering life having overcome any desire they ever had for a place that could be called home. After 1806, therefore, the ground was not spoken of or regarded as reserves for their use. The location given to David Stuurman and his people on the Gamtoos river was occupied some years longer, but from the first it was a public nuisance. Stuurman, who was a ruffian by disposition and who was guilty of many crimes of violence, harboured Xosas there, and made his kraal a place of refuge for idlers and bad characters. He entered into an agreement with Cungwa, which was to all intents and purposes an offensive and defensive alliance against the colony. In 1810 he proceeded so far as to set the European authorities at defiance. Having given shelter to two runaways from contracts of service, whom he refused to surrender and prepared to protect by force, he was summoned to appear before the court of the landdrost, but did not obey. An armed party was then sent against him, and he was captured with some difficulty. He was tried by the high court of justice and sentenced to imprisonment for life, when the location was broken up. There remained then to the Hottentots as permanent places of abode only the reserves that had been theirs from early Dutch times and the mission stations Genadendal, Mamre, and Bethelsdorp.

In a small society like that of Capetown at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the acts of a single erratic individual are often sufficient to keep the whole community in a condition of turmoil. During the greater part of the time that Lord Caledon was governor the leading people of the place were frequently annoyed by anonymous letters, containing threats, criticisms of their conduct, and aspersion of their characters, without anyone suspecting the real author. There was as yet in the colony no clergyman of the English church except the military chaplain. The first who officiated in that capacity was the reverend R. E. Jones, who had been clergyman of the ship in which General Grey had taken his passage from England, and had been favoured by that officer with the

temporary appointment of chaplain to the garrison. This he held until the 7th of December 1807, when the reverend Dr. Laurence Halloran arrived to fill the situation permanently. Dr. Halloran subsequently received the additional appointment of chaplain of the *Leopard*, with leave to reside on shore, and was thus required by the authorities to perform the duties of a clergyman for both branches of the service.

The Dutch congregation lent their place of worship, and Dr. Halloran held service for the English residents every Sunday. He was a man past middle age, well educated, and possessed of considerable ability. He wrote poetry which was above the medium order of merit. But he was not at all a lovable man, and there was something even in his appearance that was unattractive. His disposition was quarrelsome, and his pulpit utterances were often galling. As an instance, after a rupture with the government one Sunday he preached from the text *Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works*, and directed his remarks at the colonial secretary, Mr. Henry Alexander, the governor's cousin.

The Latin school in Capetown had been resuscitated by the commissioner De Mist, and the situation of rector being vacant, Dr. Halloran applied for it, and obtained the appointment. He hoped to hold it without giving up the military chaplaincy, but on the very day that he commenced the duty—1st of June 1810—he received from General Grey, whom he had annoyed, an order to remove to Simonstown, where a body of troops was stationed. This led to his resigning his appointment in the army, pending the pleasure of the king. A few weeks later General Grey received several anonymous letters, in one of which there was a quotation in Greek that was recognised as the ordinary handwriting of Dr. Halloran. This was reported to the governor, who ordered him to be brought to trial for the offence.

He was charged before the high court of justice with writing, composing, and publishing infamous libels against General Grey. For some time he refused to plead, as he denied the com-

petency of a Dutch court to try a man holding an appointment in the British army until the resignation of that appointment was accepted by the king. This, of course, availed him nothing, and upon being found guilty, on the 10th of December 1810 he was condemned to be banished for ever from the colony and to pay the costs of the prosecution. Further, for offensive and slanderous expressions to the court, he was sentenced to pay a small fine and to be detained in prison until he could be sent out of the country.

This sentence was confirmed by the court of appeal for criminal cases, and it was carried into effect by Dr. Halloran being confined for five weeks and then being sent home in a prize ship taken from the French. Upon his arrival in England, he attempted to create sympathy by publishing the records of the trial; but, instead of that he drew upon himself an inquiry into his past life, when it was discovered that his certificate of ordination was forged. His title of doctor in divinity had been obtained by favour from the university of Aberdeen.

This discovery caused some anxiety at the Cape, as he had united a good many couples in marriage, and it was feared that such marriages might not be valid in law. The matter was set at rest, however, by an opinion of the law officers of the crown that "the marriages solemnised at the Cape of Good Hope by the person officiating as a clergyman under assumed or forged orders could not be vitiated or invalidated in any manner by the defect of the holy orders of priesthood imputed to him."

In England Dr. Halloran assumed various names, and by means of spurious documents obtained employment as a clergyman in several places. His last situation was that of curate of Brosely in Shropshire, where he quarrelled with the rector, Dr. Townsend Forester. Dr. Forester then caused him to be prosecuted for having franked a letter in the name of Sir William Garrow, a member of parliament, and on the 30th of September 1818 he was sentenced at the Old Bailey to seven years' transportation for having defrauded the post-

office of tenpence. He was sent to New South Wales, and died there.

The last possessions of France in the East were the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, and from them great damage was inflicted upon British commerce. Fast sailing vessels of war and privateers left their ports, and returned after cruises with prizes laden with European and Indian produce, which was sold to neutrals, principally Americans, for supplies of food. The fleet of war on the Cape station was therefore strengthened, and early in 1809 a strict blockade of the islands was commenced. On the 10th of January 1808 Rear Admiral Stirling had sailed for England, leaving Commodore Josias Rowley in charge of the squadron. On the 1st of August 1808 Vice Admiral Albemarle Bertie arrived, and it was under his directions that the blockade of the French islands was conducted.

Of the ships mentioned on a preceding page, the *Diadem* and *Paz* sailed for England in January 1808, the *Cormorant* followed in July and the *Grampus* in November of the same year. The *Laurel* was captured off Port Louis on the 12th of September 1808 by the French ship *La Cannoniere*, of 52 guns, after a gallant defence of an hour and a half. The *Harrier* was lost at sea in March 1809. The *Raisonable*, *Staunch*, *Otter*, and *Sapphire* were still on the station when the blockade commenced. To these were added the *Nereide*, 32-gun frigate, which arrived in February 1808; the *Charwell*, 16-gun sloop, which arrived a month later, the *Leopard*, 50-gun ship, which arrived in August 1808, the *Olympia* and *Sylvia*, 10-gun cutters, which arrived in September 1808, the *Caledon*, purchased at the Cape in November 1808 and fitted out as a sloop of war of 16 guns, the *Racehorse*, 18-gun sloop, which arrived in February 1809, the *Iphigenia*, 36-gun frigate, which arrived in April 1809, the *Sirius* and *Boadicea*, two 38-gun frigates, which arrived in May 1809, and the *Magicienne*, 36-gun frigate, which arrived in November 1809.

The result of the blockade was that as soon as the trade by neutrals was cut off the inhabitants of Mauritius and Bourbon were reduced to distress for want of provisions. Then, in July,

the little island of Rodriguez, lying some distance to the eastward of Mauritius, was occupied by a body of troops sent from India under command of Lieutenant Colonel Keating, the object being to use it as a base of operations for the reduction of the French possessions.

On the 21st of September 1809 the British blockading squadron under Commodore Josias Rowley with a detachment of troops from Rodriguez under Lieutenant Colonel Keating made a sudden descent upon the harbour and town of St. Paul's in the island of Bourbon, and succeeded in getting possession of the batteries and shipping. Among the prizes were *La Caroline*, a 44-gun frigate, the *Grappler*, an 18-gun corvette, and the *Streatham* and *Europe*, two captured English Indiamen with very valuable cargoes on board. All the batteries, magazines, and public warehouses were destroyed, not a gun or a cartridge was left in the place, and the attacking force then withdrew, being unable to supply a garrison strong enough to maintain possession. In the following year, however, nearly four thousand soldiers were sent from Madras to Rodriguez, where an additional detachment was embarked in transports, and under convoy of the *Boadicea*, *Sirius*, *Nereide*, *Magicienne*, and *Iphigenia*, under Commodore Rowley, sailed for Bourbon. The garrison of the island was too weak to resist such a force, and on the 8th of July 1810 Bourbon was taken. Mr. R. T. Farquhar assumed duty as governor, and an ample number of soldiers was left to support him.

An attack was then planned upon the more important island of Mauritius. On the 14th of August the islet Passe, partly commanding the entrance into Port South-East, was taken by the boats of the *Sirius* and *Iphigenia*, and a hundred and thirty soldiers were stationed on it as a garrison. Six days later the French frigates *Bellona* and *Minerva* with the corvette *Victor* and the captured English Indiamen *Ceylon* and *Windham* ran into the port, but the *Windham* was cut off before reaching the anchorage. On the 23rd Captain Pym, of the *Sirius*, who was acting as commodore of the blockading squadron, resolved to attack the French vessels, and with his own ship,

the *Nereide*, *Magicienne*, and *Iphigenia*, stood in for that purpose. Unfortunately the *Sirius*, *Nereide*, and *Magicienne* ran aground in a position where they were exposed to the fire of the land batteries as well as to that of the French frigates, and were consequently soon overpowered. The crews of the *Sirius* and the *Magicienne* escaped to the islet Passe after setting fire to their ships. The defence of the *Nereide* by Captain Willoughby and his gallant crew was one of the most memorable in the records of the British navy, for she was only captured when there was not a single living man on board unwounded. The *Iphigenia* anchored under shelter of the battery on the islet Passe. On the 24th the French frigates *La Venus*, *La Manche*, *L'Astrea*, and *L'Entreprenante* arrived from Port Louis, and the *Iphigenia* and all those on the islet were obliged to surrender.

Of the whole blockading force, there now remained only the frigates *Africaine* and *Ceylon*, belonging to the Indian squadron, and the 38-gun frigate *Boadicea*, the 18-gun sloop *Otter*—almost unfit for service—and the 10-gun brig *Staunch*. The three last named were then at Bourbon. At the Cape there were only the *Nisus*, 38-gun frigate, which had just arrived to join the squadron, and the *Olympia* cutter; the *Sylvia* having been sent to England in December 1808, the *Sapphire* in January 1810, the *Raisonable*, *Charwell*, and *Caledon* in March, and the *Leopard* in July 1810, all as protectors of convoys. The *Racehorse* also had gone to England with despatches, and was still absent, though on her passage back. Strong reinforcements, which were on their way out, did not arrive at the Cape until some weeks later.

On the 27th of August Commodore (afterwards Rear Admiral Sir Josias) Rowley was informed of the disaster at Mauritius by some of the *Magicienne's* crew who escaped in a boat. He at once stood towards the larger island with his three vessels, and on the 13th of September saw at a distance to windward the *Africaine* attacked by two French frigates, but could not reach the scene of action in time to assist her. On his approach the enemy's ships made all sail, and the *Africaine*, which had struck her colours, was found dismasted and little better than

a wreck. Her defence had been almost as heroic as that of the *Néreide*. Captain Corbett, who commanded her, had the reputation of being excessively severe to his seamen, but he was as fearless as a lion. He fought his ship to the last extremity, and fell dead before her flag was struck. Legends of his gallant conduct and of the respect paid to his remains by the French officers who boarded the ship were current in Capetown until the century was far advanced. Commodore Rowley took the *Africaine* in tow, and enabled her to reach Bourbon safely. On the 18th of the same month he fell in with the French frigate *La Vénus*, of 44 guns, and after a single broadside captured her. On the morning of the same day *La Vénus* had engaged and taken the *Ceylon*, and this ship was now also recovered. Thus, within five days, the *Boadicea* rescued two English frigates that had been made prizes and captured a French ship larger than herself. The *Otter* had by this time become quite unserviceable, and in October she was sent back to England.

Meantime the government of India was fitting out a strong force, which was to sail under adequate convoy from Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, and be joined at Rodriguez by ships and troops from Bourbon and the Cape of Good Hope. The 24th regiment had been sent from Capetown to India in June, and had not yet been replaced, but it was arranged that two battalions should be supplied from the South African garrison. Vice Admiral Albemarle Bertie was to take command of the combined fleets and Major General the honourable John Abercrombie of the land forces, and make a descent at Grand Bay, about twelve miles from Port Louis. This plan was carried out successfully, except that the transports with the soldiers from the Cape did not arrive in time. On the 29th of November 1810 the fleet, consisting of about seventy sail of men of war and transports, came to anchor in Grand Bay, and the troops were at once set on shore. General De Caen, the French governor of the island, recognised the impossibility of successful resistance, and offered to capitulate. While the terms were being discussed the contingent from the Cape arrived, consisting of a hundred artillerymen and

the 72nd and 87th regiments of the line, which were kept by General Abercrombie as a garrison for the island when most of the other troops were sent back to India. On the 3rd of December the capitulation was completed, and Mauritius became a British possession, which it has continued to be to the present day. Mr. Farquhar, who removed from Bourbon, was its first English governor. Captain Josias Rowley was transferred from the *Boadicea* to the *Menelaus*, and was sent to England by Vice Admiral Bertie with despatches announcing that the French flag had disappeared from the Indian seas.

Upon his return to the Cape from Mauritius Vice Admiral Bertie found that Rear Admiral Robert Stopford had arrived to succeed him, and on the 5th of January 1811 the command on the station was transferred. The fleet then consisted of the *Boadicea*, *Nisus*, *Staunch*, *Olympia*, *Racehorse*—which had arrived again on the 6th of November 1810,—*Phœbe*, 36-gun frigate, which had arrived in September, *Eclipse*, 18-gun sloop, which had arrived in October, and *Scipion*, 74-gun ship, and *Astrea*, 36-gun frigate, which had arrived in December 1810. On the way out were the *President*, 38-gun frigate, *Galatea*, 36-gun frigate, and *Malacca*, 36-gun frigate, which arrived in February, and the *Harpy*, 18-gun sloop, which arrived in March 1811. The *Menelaus*, 38-gun frigate, and the *Actæon*, 18-gun sloop, had also been sent out to strengthen the Cape squadron, and had arrived in October 1810, but had been sent back to England in December of the same year. The *Boadicea* left the station in March 1811 to return to England, and the other ships were employed chiefly in guarding Mauritius and Bourbon and in assisting, under Admiral Stopford's command, in the operations against Java which resulted in the surrender by General Jan Willem Janssens of that island and its dependencies to the British arms on the 18th of September 1811.

During the administration of the earl of Caledon several improvements were effected in the country villages, and particularly in Capetown.

In August 1808 the loan bank was made also a bank of discount and deposit, thereby facilitating commercial transactions. In June 1810 its capital was increased by half a million paper rixdollars, authorised by the secretary of state for the colonial and war department to be stamped for the purpose.

At the same time the secretary of state authorised the governor to issue another half million paper rixdollars with which to carry out public works of importance. This, which was equivalent to raising a loan without interest, was done as the funds were needed, the last issue being made in March 1814. With the money thus obtained the old slave lodge in Capetown was converted into public offices and the custom house was built, drostdy buildings were erected at Uitenhage, George, and Caledon, prisons at Swellendam, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet, an English church—the first in the colony, opened for use in April 1814—was built at Simonstown, and a Dutch church at George. In addition to these, but from a different fund, the building now occupied by the public works department, on Buitenkant-street, facing the southern side of Caledon-square, in Capetown, was commenced by Lord Caledon's order, though it was not completed until 1814. A portion of it was for many years afterwards used as a public granary.

From this paper money also an amount equal to about £17,360 sterling was lent to the burgher senate for the purpose of constructing waterworks in Capetown. Ever since the seventeenth century water for domestic use was obtained either from wells or from a fountain near the northern end of the parade ground. The well water—except where underground veins were tapped—was regarded as impure, though it was used for many purposes. Into a reservoir above the government garden—the lowest of those now existing—some of the sources of the ancient fresh river were led, and from it the water was conducted partly in a course of masonry and partly in wooden shoots to the fountain on the parade, where the townspeople and the shipping

obtained their supplies. There was another fountain at the lower end of Caledon-square, fed from the same reservoir, but it was chiefly intended for the occupants of the castle and the barracks, and when private people were allowed as a favour to make use of it, they were obliged to wait until the military parties had taken as much as they wanted. In most families of respectability in the town, a slave was kept for no other purpose than to carry water from the fountain on the parade, just as another slave was kept to collect and carry fuel from the mountain.

Iron pipes, brought from England, were now laid along the principal streets, with taps at convenient distances, so that the comfort of the inhabitants was greatly increased. A special water rate was thereafter levied to meet the interest and gradually to pay off the capital expended. This work, though commenced during the administration of the earl of Caledon, was not completed until 1812.

Another improvement in the town was the lighting of the Heerengracht and Keizersgracht—the present Adderley and Darling streets—at night with oil lamps, which was carried out at the voluntary cost of the residents along those thoroughfares. The lamps were first lit in May 1809.

On the 4th of December 1809 several distinct shocks of an earthquake were felt in Capetown, and caused considerable damage to many houses. In 1811, on the 2nd and again on the 19th of June, shocks were felt at the same place. On these occasions the walls of some houses were cracked from top to bottom, but no great injury resulted.

Shortly after his arrival in the colony the governor, like several of his predecessors, expressed surprise that wool bearing sheep had not taken the place of the African breed, and resolved to bring about an exchange. In April 1808 he issued an order that the flockmasters in the district of Tulbagh were to be supplied as quickly as possible with full bred Spanish rams from Groote Post, free of charge, and they were required to substitute these for the African rams in their possession. After two years the district tax of

sixteen pence a hundred on sheep was to be increased to two pence on every one of African breed, and the rent of a farm on which African sheep were kept was to be raised from £4 16*s.* to £9 12*s.* a year. The breeders were warned that the leases of their ground would be cancelled if they were obstinate in resistance, and were informed that it was to be a fixed condition in all future grants of land that no African sheep were to be kept. But without the coöperation of the people the order to substitute Spanish for African rams could not be enforced, and the farmers, while using respectful language, found means to defeat the governor's intention. They continued to prefer the hardy native sheep, and after a while the order, with all the penalties attached to its neglect, was allowed to fall out of remembrance.

Between the earl of Caledon and Lieutenant General Grey there were conflicting opinions as to their respective powers in military matters, though like sensible men they did not allow these differences to affect either the interests of the public service or their friendly conduct towards each other. On one occasion the question in dispute was regarded by the governor as of such importance that he sent Mr. Alexander, the colonial secretary, to England to represent his views and to endeavour to obtain more explicit instructions on the subject than had previously been issued. The imperial authorities decided that the civil governor, though entitled commander in chief, had no military authority except over purely local forces, such as burghers on commando, and the Hottentot regiment, which was maintained at the cost of the colonial treasury. Still, it was recognised that circumstances might arise in which this decision would be detrimental to the public interests, so it was resolved that for the future the office of civil governor should be held by a military officer of high rank who should also be commander of the forces.

The earl of Caledon was well disposed towards the colonists, and in return they thought highly of him. In March and April 1811 he made a tour as far as Plettenberg's Bay,

for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted with the interior of the country, that he might be better able to give the secretary of state accurate information. Previous to setting out he had requested permission to resign the government and return to England, as he was about to be married. His resignation was accepted, and on the 4th of July he embarked in the ship of war *Curaçoa* in Simon's Bay and sailed that afternoon.

Next morning Lieutenant-General Grey took the oaths of office as acting governor. During the few weeks that he was at the head of affairs nothing of importance transpired, and he merely carried out the routine duties, without initiating new measures of any kind.

CHAPTER VII.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN FRANCIS CRADOCK, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 6TH SEPTEMBER 1811, RETIRED 6TH APRIL 1814.

As successor to the earl of Caledon and to General Grey, Lieutenant-General Sir John Francis Cradock was appointed. He was a distinguished military officer, the first of a series of veterans of the peninsular war who governed the Cape Colony until the introduction of a parliament. He had been commander-in-chief of the English army in Portugal from December 1808 to April 1809, when he was succeeded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington. He then became governor and commander-in-chief of Gibraltar. He was a man of very high personal character, of an ancient Welsh family, though his father was archbishop of Dublin. At the time of his appointment to the government of the Cape Colony he was forty-nine years of age. His wife was a daughter of the earl of Clanwilliam. On the 5th of September 1811 Sir John Cradock arrived in Table Bay in the ship of war *Emerald*, and on the following morning took the oaths of office.

Ever since the conquest of the colony in 1806 the district of Uitenhage had been in a disturbed state, and matters there were constantly becoming more unsettled. The Xosas in the Zuurveld observed the conditions of peace no longer than suited their inclinations, and as soon as the white people in their neighbourhood got a few cattle together, robberies were renewed. Some individuals in England expressed an opinion that Europeans must have provoked the Kaffirs, but the closest investigation by officers of the government could not bring to light an instance in which colonists were the aggressors.

The quarrel between Gaika and Ndlambe—the rivals in the house of Rarabe—was kept up with great bitterness on both sides. Kawuta died about the year 1804, and his son Hintsa, whom all acknowledged as head of the tribe, favoured the party of Ndlambe. His object in doing so was to preserve a balance of power. Shortly after the death of Kawuta, Velelo, a half-brother of the deceased chief and one of the guardians of Hintsa during his minority, quarrelled with Gaika and led an army of Galekas to the Keiskama to attack him. Velelo was beaten, and Gaika followed him across the Kei, killed a good many of his people, captured his cattle, and made Hintsa a prisoner. The nominal paramount chief was not kept long in detention, but he was thenceforth exceedingly jealous of Gaika, and favoured Ndlambe as much as he could. He was not disposed, however, to give assistance in arms, so that the Cape government did not trouble about him.

The desire of the British authorities was that the whole of the Xosas west of the Kei should acknowledge Gaika as their head. He was the grandson of Rarabe in the great line, and Rarabe had occupied that position. But the clans of the Imidange, Amambala, Amantinde, Amagwali, and Amagunukwebe had only admitted Rarabe as their head on account of his personal prowess, and at his death they became independent of his branch of the tribe, as they had been before his famous exploits. They now claimed the right of remaining separate or of uniting with either of his rival descendants, at their pleasure.

Cungwa, head of the Gunukwebe clan, was next to Ndlambe the most powerful chief west of the Fish river. In 1808 he invaded the Longkloof, and built a kraal west of the Gamtoos river. Lord Caledon was trying every possible means to conciliate the Xosas, for not only was he personally inclined to treat them in the most liberal manner, but his instructions from the secretary of state were to avoid disputes and, above all, hostilities. In his dealings with them he was guided—as he afterwards wrote to his successor—by the advice of the fiscal Van Ryneveld, who laid down the maxim that "it was

better to submit to a certain extent of injury than risk a great deal for a prospect of advantage by no means certain." But if Cungwa were permitted to remain in the Longkloof, the coast lands as far west as Plettenberg's Bay must be abandoned by white people; and the governor could not make up his mind to that. He therefore gave the clan the choice either to occupy a permanent location near Capetown, where they would be separated from the rest of the tribe, or to return to their own country beyond the Fish river. In October 1809 Cungwa promised to retire to the Kaffir country at once; but instead of doing so he went into the mountains east of the Sunday river, and then sent his people to plunder far and wide. His sons Pato, Kobe, and Mama were each at the head of a small division of the clan.

The Imidange were now divided into fragments among the grandsons of Mahuta, whose rightful heir—Jalamba by name—had been killed in the war of 1781. The principal divisions, under Funa and Botumane, were allied with Gaika; the others, under the captains Koba, Kasa, Habana, and Gola, were in the Zuurveld. Kasa and his people had their kraal on the Zuurberg, and were regarded by the Europeans as the most expert robbers in the country.

The Amambala clan was also divided into fragments under the sons of Langa. The principal section, under the captain Eno (correct Kaffir spelling Nqeno), and two small companies, under Kaze and Galeba, were with Gaika; two other sections, under Kame and Tuli, were in the Zuurveld.

The Amantinde clan, under Tshatshu, was in the Zuurveld. Tshatshu's son of highest rank was living at Bethelsdorp with the missionaries.

The Amagwali clan, also in fragments under petty captains of no weight, was in the Zuurveld. The clan under Jalusa, son of Rarabe, was at this time living on the Keiskama in friendship with Gaika. There were also some five-and-twenty or thirty petty captains, sometimes to be found on the Keiskama, at other times on the Bushman's river, who never rose to any importance, and whose names need not be given.

Lord Caledon, having found conciliation useless, was about to call the burghers to arms to expel the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld if they would not retire upon a display of force, when he received a dispatch permitting him to return to England. General Grey did not feel justified in commencing operations that might end in a war, so he allowed the matter to stand over until the arrival of Sir John Cradock, though he authorised Major Cuyler to assemble a commando and call for military aid from Fort Frederick to prevent the marauders from advancing farther. When the new governor reached South Africa, he found reports awaiting him from the landdrost of Uitenhage, in which he was informed that there was only one farm still occupied east of the drostdy, and that there was no other choice left than the expulsion of the Xosas by force or the abandonment of the district by the government.

On the 8th of October 1811 orders were issued by Sir John Cradock to the landdrosts of Swellendam, George, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet to call out the burghers of their districts for the purpose of driving the marauders over the Fish river. Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, of the Cape regiment, was appointed commandant-general of the force and special commissioner for the eastern districts. He was instructed to use every exertion to persuade the Xosas to retire peacefully from the colony; but if they would not leave of their own accord he was to take the most effectual measures to repel them within their own boundaries. For this purpose he was to employ the burgher forces and the Cape regiment, 594 strong, using such other troops as were placed under his command to occupy posts in the rear and prevent their return. These were 49 artillerymen, 166 of the 21st light dragoons, 221 men of the 83rd, and 3 men of the 93rd regiment.

In December the burghers took the field. The farmers of Swellendam were under Commandant Jacobus Linde, those of George under Commandant Jacobus Botha, and those of Uitenhage under Commandant Gabriel Stolz. They assembled near the mouth of the Sunday river. The farmers of Graaff-Reinet, under Landdrost Stockenstrom and Fieldcornet Pieter Pretorius,

occupied Bruintjes Hoogte, so as to cover the country north of the Zuurberg range.

On the 27th of December a division of Colonel Graham's force, under Major Cuyler, crossed the Sunday river, and formed a camp within easy reach of Habana's kraal on the southern side of the Rietbergen. When passing through a thicket within five hundred yards of the river a few assagais were thrown at the burghers, and one man was wounded. Major Cuyler with an escort then rode to Cungwa's kraal which was close to a dense thicket, with the object of trying to induce that chief to retire peaceably. Cungwa did not appear, but he sent a message that he was disposed to do as desired, and asked to be allowed until next day to give a final answer. This was acceded to. The men at the kraal were seen to be in readiness for war, and the veterans were all ornamented with blue crane feathers.

On the following day Major Cuyler with twenty-five farmers and a Hottentot interpreter returned to Cungwa's kraal. Observing a party of Kaffirs close to the thicket, they rode up, when Ndlambe advanced a few paces from the others, and cried out: "Here is no honey; I will eat honey, and to procure it will cross the rivers Sunday, Koega, and Zwartkops." Stamping his foot on the ground, he shouted again: "This country is mine; I won it in war, and shall maintain it." Then shaking an assagai with one hand, with the other he raised a horn to his mouth. Upon blowing it, two or three hundred warriors rushed towards Major Cuyler's party, who owed their escape solely to the fleetness of their horses.

The district east of the Sunday river at a short distance from the coast is very rugged. Between the mountain range called the Zuurberg and the sea are chains of hills and irregular elevations, which were known in 1812 as the Rietbergen. In thickets spread over a tract of this broken land, some forty miles in length by ten or twelve in breadth, the followers of Ndlambe and Cungwa took shelter.

On the 27th of December Colonel Graham sent an express to Landdrost Stockenstrom, directing him to proceed from

Bruintjes Hoogte across the Zuurberg and Rietbergen with the farmers and two companies of the Hottentot soldiers, and join Major Cuyler. But the landdrost, who believed that if he carried out these instructions the Xosas would almost to a certainty make a raid into the country north of the mountains, on the 29th with only twenty-four men left the camp, stating that he intended to report himself to Colonel Graham. When about half way to his destination, a party of Xosas was seen approaching on open ground, and against the advice of the farmers Mr. Stockenstrom stopped to talk with them. He wished to induce them to return to their own country without bloodshed, and perhaps he relied for safety upon his reputation as a friend and benefactor of the coloured races. They were of the Imidange clan under the chief Kasa. Mr. Stockenstrom talked with them about half an hour, the Xosas appearing to be friendly, while all the time they were gradually surrounding the white men. Then there was a rush in from all sides, and the landdrost, eight farmers—Jan Christiaan Greyling, Jacobus Potgieter, Philip Botha, Izaak van Heerden, Jacobus du Plessis, Willem Pretorius, Pieter Botha, and Michiel Hatting—together with the half-breed interpreter Philip Buys, were stabbed to death. Four more farmers were wounded, but they and the others made their escape, killing five or six of their assailants as they did so.

As soon as tidings of the massacre reached the camp at Bruintjes Hoogte, the landdrost's son, Ensign Andries Stockenstrom, of the Cape regiment, set off with eighteen mounted men, and coming suddenly upon a party of the murderers, killed sixteen of them and retook eight horses.

Colonel Graham then sent Captain Fraser to the camp at Bruintjes Hoogte to carry out the instructions which the landdrost Stockenstrom had disregarded. When returning with two companies of the Cape regiment and fifty farmers under Fieldcornet Pretorius, Captain Fraser was attacked three times in a narrow defile, but on each occasion beat off his assailants. About twenty Xosas were killed, without the loss of any Europeans.

Meantime Major Cuyler's division had several skirmishes, in which a few Xosas were shot and four hundred head of horned cattle were captured.

On the 3rd of January 1812 six parties, each consisting of sixty farmers and twenty men of the Cape regiment, entered the broken forest country south of the Addo Heights, for the purpose of expelling the Gunukwebes. They came out on the 7th with two thousand five hundred head of cattle, having killed twelve or fourteen Xosas, among whom was the chief Cungwa. On the side of the Europeans only one man—Fieldcornet Nortje—lost his life. The farmers, finding the government in earnest as to driving the Xosas from the colony, were ready to make every possible exertion, and Colonel Graham reported that they were "orderly, obedient, and undertook with cheerfulness and alacrity the fatiguing and arduous duties allotted to them." As soon as the first patrols came out, others were sent into the retreat of the Gunukwebes, but the Kaffirs avoided a combat, and tried to double upon their pursuers.

It appeared afterwards as if Cungwa's clan was only keeping the Europeans engaged while Ndlambe made good his escape. On the 14th and 15th of January this chief with his people crossed the Fish river, and they were immediately followed by the Gunukwebes, under Pato, who succeeded to the chieftainship on his father's death.

Habana and a number of the other petty captains remained in the recesses of the mountains. It was believed by the Europeans that David Stuurman, who had escaped from confinement some time before, with a band of Hottentot marauders was aiding Habana; and as those people were expert marksmen, an attack upon them was regarded as certain to result in heavy loss of life. A reinforcement of two hundred men of the first battalion of the 60th regiment, which had arrived in the colony in September 1811, having been sent to Colonel Graham's aid, on the 13th of February two divisions of burghers and Hottentot soldiers entered the broken country of the Zuurberg and Rietbergen, one from the north, the other from

the south. They met on the bank of the Sunday river, and then, forming a number of small parties, they scoured the country from west to east, while mounted patrols and foot soldiers guarded the outlets on their flanks. Contrary to expectation, David Stuurman and his gang were not there. During twelve days of excessive fatigue the kloofs and thickets were cleared of the Xosas, who fled towards their own country. About thirty were killed or wounded. Over one hundred women and children were made prisoners, and six hundred head of cattle were captured. On the 24th of February the burghers returned to camp, having burned all the huts, destroyed the gardens, and left hardly a trace of the Xosas west of the Fish river. Only one white man, a farmer named Cornelis Jacob Swart, of the district of Swellendam, was killed in these operations.

The women and children who had been made prisoners were now restored to their friends. Sufficient corn for seed was forwarded, and some of the captured cattle were sent across the Fish river and given back to those from whom they had been taken. It was announced to the Xosas that on their own side of the boundary they would not be molested, but if they returned to the colony they would be shot. Of the captured cattle that were not restored, some were given to farmers who had suffered from depredations by Kaffirs before the war, five hundred head were sent to Gaika to distribute in any manner he chose, and about six hundred head were kept in reserve. The expelled clans were informed that these cattle would be returned to them after a time if they behaved themselves properly, or otherwise would be used to make good losses through thieves.

By the beginning of March the fourth Kaffir war was over, and it had ended—as neither the second nor the third had—favourably for the Europeans. At its close there were in the field eight hundred burghers and twelve hundred and fifty-two soldiers, including the Hottentot regiment. The Xosas driven over the Fish river numbered in all about twenty thousand souls.

A line of military posts, garrisoned partly by soldiers and partly by burghers of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage was now formed from the sea to the second chain of mountains, for the purpose of preventing the return of the Xosas. The burghers of the other districts were excused from personal service, upon payment of 61,000 rixdollars annually towards the maintenance of those who remained under arms. Colonel Graham issued an invitation to the former occupants of farms in the Zuurveld to return to the places from which they had been driven, but the governor objected, as he was determined to discontinue the old system of land tenure, and proposed to form settlements on small holdings round the military stations. This plan, however, could not then be carried out, as no one cared to occupy a little plot of ground. Most of the European troops who had taken part in the war were recalled to Capetown, but others were sent to the front, and at the close of the year the line of defence was occupied, in addition to the burghers, by 59 dragoons, 427 men of the 60th, and the Hottentot regiment.

The governor resolved to station two magistrates near the eastern frontier, and for this purpose on the 10th of July 1812 Ensign Andries Stockenstrom, of the Cape regiment, was appointed deputy landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, and Captain George Sackville Fraser, of the same corps, deputy landdrost of Uitenhage. Ensign Stockenstrom was directed to hold a court at Van-Staden's-Dam, on the bank of the Fish river; but a little later he was moved some distance higher up, to a loan farm in occupation of Willem Jacob van Heerden, which on the 21st of January 1814, at the request of the inhabitants of that part of the country, was named Cradock by a notice in the *Government Gazette*. In the following year Van Heerden was awarded compensation for the improvements he had made, the lease was cancelled, and a village was laid out. Three years elapsed before provision for public worship could be made. In June 1817 the reverend John Evans, previously an agent of the London society, entered the public service, and was stationed at Cradock. For a twelvemonth he was

regarded as a missionary, but on the 10th of June 1818 the governor approved of elders and deacons who had been nominated by the landdrost, and thus a separate congregation was formed according to the presbyterian system. From this date the growth of the village, though not rapid, was constant.

The head-quarters of the troops on the frontier were on a farm once occupied by a man named Lucas Meyer. It was close to the source of the Kowie river, on a spur of the Zuurberg, about twenty-five miles from the sea, and nearly two thousand feet above the level of the ocean. Its advantage as a military position was due to its being the centre of an irregular semicircle described by the Fish river from north-west round to south-east, nearly every part of the curve being within a day's march. To this place, on the 14th of August 1812 the name Grahamstown was given by government advertisement, in honour of the officer commanding the troops. The deputy landdrost of Uitenhage was stationed there.

In 1807 and again in 1812 small-pox appeared in the colony. On the 16th of June in the former year a Hottentot in the prison in Capetown was found to be suffering from it. He had recently come round by sea from Algoa Bay, and it was supposed that he had brought the seeds of the disease from the country north of the Orange river, where it was known to be prevalent in a mild form. The sick man and two Hottentots who were his associates in the prison were at once conveyed to Paarden Island and were kept there in complete isolation. They were all smitten with true small-pox, but all recovered. Owing to the precautions taken, the disease did not spread on this occasion, and no other case was discovered.

On the 5th of March 1812 a slave from a condemned Portuguese ship was found to be suffering from small-pox, though he appeared perfectly well when he landed a short time previously. He was at once isolated, but soon other cases were discovered in houses where he had been, and the

disease rapidly spread. The government issued instructions that every one in the town should be vaccinated; but the Mohamedans, from a religious scruple, found means to avoid compliance with the order. Capetown was now shunned by the country people, and communication with the interior almost ceased. The schools and places of worship were closed, general business was suspended, and unnecessary intercourse was forbidden. As soon as the disease appeared in a house, a white flag was hung out, and every one coming from such a house was required to wear a strip of white calico round his arm. The anxiety of the people was very great; but there were only a few hundred cases, and most of those attacked recovered. By September the disease entirely disappeared, and the 11th of October was observed as a day of thanksgiving to God for its cessation.

Under the government of Sir John Cradock, as upright and amiable a man as ever ruled the Cape Colony, the first of a series of events took place which caused a great number of the farmers of the country districts to abandon their homes and to move beyond the limits of English dominion.

During recent years several governors had contemplated the establishment of a circuit court, but the various changes which had taken place prevented the completion of the design. Lord Caledon was permitted by the secretary of state to carry it into effect. On the 16th of May 1811 he issued a proclamation that a commission of two or more members of the high court of justice should from time to time make a circuit through the colony, for the purpose of trying important cases, ascertaining whether the landdrosts performed their duties correctly and impartially, inspecting the district chests and buildings, and reporting upon the condition of the people and all matters affecting public interests.

On the 14th of October 1811 three judges left Capetown on the first circuit. They were Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld—who on the retirement of Mr. De Wet on account of bodily infirmities in March 1809 was appointed president of the high court, or chief justice as that officer now began

to be termed—and Messrs. Pieter Diemel and Francis Willem Fagel. Mr. Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld was secretary. They proceeded to the various drostdies, and tried in all twenty-one criminal cases, of which eight were charges brought by coloured people against colonists. The proceedings were conducted with open doors, and no distinction was made between persons of different races or colour either as accusers or accused. The judges reached Capetown again on the 1st of February 1812, and shortly afterwards drew up and presented to the governor a long report upon the condition of the country. Throughout South Africa there was nothing but satisfaction expressed with the establishment of a circuit court after this manner, and everywhere the judges were received with the utmost respect.

But before the termination of the first circuit Sir John Cradock received a despatch from the secretary of state, dated 9th of August 1811, in which was enclosed a copy of a letter from the reverend Mr. Read, of Bethelsdorp, to the directors of the London missionary society, and by them published in England. In this letter the missionary complained that the Hottentots were subject to cruel and inhuman treatment from white people, and that the earl of Caledon and Landdrost Cuyler were alike deaf to their cry for justice. He asserted that upwards of one hundred murders had been brought to the knowledge of Dr. Vanderkemp and himself in the district of Uitenhage alone. This letter had already come to the notice of the colonial government, and a judicial inquiry into the charges made in it had already been commenced when the celebrated philanthropist Wilberforce sent a copy of it to the imperial authorities. The secretary of state instructed the governor to have the terrible charges thoroughly investigated, and to see that stringent punishment was inflicted upon perpetrators of outrages.

Accordingly every possible effort was made to put facilities in the way of Hottentots bringing forward their grievances. Landdrost Cuyler considered his honour at stake, and was most anxious that even petty assaults should be looked into,

in order that the assertions of the missionary might be proved to be false. This gentleman belonged to one of the best families of Dutch descent in the state of New York. In the revolutionary war his father took part with the king, and in course of time he became an officer in the British army. He was very indignant on being accused of injustice, as he prided himself on his integrity, and knew that the charge against him was undeserved.

Dr. Vanderkemp died in January 1812, but Mr. Read was aided by other members of the society to get as many cases as he could for the next circuit court. He, too, was on his mettle, as it was necessary for him to show that he had grounds for what he had written. All the stories of the years of discord and war between the colonists and the Hottentots were therefore brought forward, and although the governor decided that the judges should try cases only which were alleged to have occurred after the British occupation in 1806, the court was furnished with a fearful roll of charges.

On the 23rd of September 1812 the judges Strubberg and Pieter Laurens Cloete left Capetown on what was afterwards usually termed the black circuit. Mr. Van Ryneveld was to have accompanied them, but he died on the 14th of August. Mr. Jan Andries Truter, previously fiscal, then became chief justice. Two other judges were sent on circuit to Swellendam and Tulbagh, leaving to Messrs. Strubberg and Cloete only the districts of George, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet.

At that time it was part of the duty of the landdrosts to act as public prosecutors when charges of crime committed within their districts came before a superior court. But in this circuit an advocate was directed to accompany the judges and prosecute in the cases brought forward by the missionaries, leaving the landdrosts to prosecute in all other cases. The advocate who was charged with this duty was Mr. Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, a man of unblemished integrity, who had been attorney-general under the Batavian government, and was now secretary of the high court of justice. This departure from the usual course of proceedings was made at the urgent

request of Landdrost Cuyler, and in order that everything possible should be done to secure a thorough investigation.

More than one-third of the male inhabitants of the frontier districts who were capable of bearing arms were in garrison in the stockaded posts that had been constructed to prevent the return of the Xosas to the Zuurveld. Over fifty members of their families—male and female—were required to appear before the circuit court, and over a thousand witnesses—European, black, and Hottentot—were summoned to give evidence. The whole country was in a state of commotion.

Fifteen white men and two white women were severally charged with murder, and thirteen white men and two white women were charged with crimes of violence towards Hottentots or slaves. Of the charges of murder, the cases of two men and one woman were referred to the full court in Capetown, those of two men were postponed until next session, one man was found guilty of assault, and one woman and ten men were acquitted. Of the charges of violence, the case of one man was referred to the landdrost, as the complainant did not appear; that of another man had to stand over until the next session, owing to the absence of witnesses; one woman and five men were acquitted, and one woman and six men were found guilty and sentenced to various punishments. There were also nineteen cases against white people for recovery of wages, two cases for illegal detention of children, and five cases for illegal detention of cattle. The most serious of these were decided in favour of the defendants.

The result of these trials corroborated the opinion often expressed, in a variety of words, by the highest officials of the government, that although a few cases of great cruelty towards coloured dependents could be pointed out, the vast majority of the colonists were no harsher or more unfeeling than country people in any part of Western Europe. Assuredly no unbiassed person, who will take the trouble to investigate thoroughly the treatment of the Hottentots in general and then to read half a dozen of the log-books of His Majesty's ships at the same period and note the severe corporal punishments inflicted for

offences that would now be deemed trivial, can accuse the colonists of being less tender hearted than our own countrymen. The principles of humanity, as we see them at work to-day, were still almost unacted upon everywhere. If in South Africa the life of a Kaffir or Bushman marauder was not regarded as of equal value with that of a European, the same can be said of the life of an Indian in the backwoods of America.

As to the charges brought before the circuit court, the judges in their report to the governor observed that "if Messrs. Vanderkemp and Read had taken the trouble to have gone into a summary and impartial investigation of the different stories related to them, many of those complaints which have made such a noise, as well in as without the Colony, must have been considered by themselves as existing in imagination only, and consequently neither the Government nor the Court of Justice would have been troubled with them."

It was nearly four months before the session was closed, and when on the 15th of January 1813 the judges reached Capetown again, the irritation in the eastern districts was still at its height. It was of no use telling the people that the trials had shown the missionaries to have been the dupes of idle storytellers. The extraordinary efforts made to search for cases and to conduct the prosecutions appeared in their eyes as a determination on the part of the authorities to punish them if by any means a pretext could be found. If it were not so, they asked, why were not charges made by them against Hottentots followed up in the same manner? As for the missionaries of the London society, from that time they were held by the frontier colonists to be men whose statements were not to be regarded as worthy of attention, and whose dealings with the coloured races could only be productive of evil. To associate them with the propagation of Christianity seemed to the farming people utterly absurd. In after years not a few pious and devoted workers among them overcame this prejudice, but the expression London missionary

society remained in use as denoting a hostile association unworthy of esteem.

At this period a great improvement in the system of land tenure in the colony was made by the governor, after consultation with several of the English and Dutch officials of highest rank, and with the approval of the authorities in England. Under the old system, when a man wanted a grazing run, he looked out for a good locality, set up a beacon, and sent a request to the government to be allowed to occupy it. A commission, consisting of two or three heemraden or fieldcornets, was then directed to inspect the locality and report whether a grant would interfere with the rights of anyone else and whether the applicant was a proper person to have a loan place assigned to him. If the report was favourable, a lease was made out, the rent being alike in all instances twenty-four rixdollars a year. The size of the place was half an hour's walk in every direction from the central beacon. The lease was for one year only, but by long custom it was regarded as renewed by the payment of the rent. The occupant could at any time dispose by sale of the buildings and improvements upon such a place—which were termed the opstal,—and the government, which received transfer dues on such sales, continued the lease to the purchaser. The farmers did not regard their occupation as insecure. By the letter of the law, the government could reclaim the ground upon a year's notice, but no instance of this kind had occurred unless the rent had not been paid for some time, or the farm was needed for public purposes, in which case fair compensation had always been made, or unless the occupant was such a notoriously bad character that the people of his district wished to get rid of him.

In Sir John Cradock's opinion, the faults of the system were many. First, it did not give absolute legal security of possession, and therefore he thought the occupants were discouraged from making improvements. Secondly, all farms, whether good or bad, paid the same rent. Thirdly, the boundaries of the farms were ill-defined, and disputes between

neighbours were interminable concerning their limits and the right of grazing over the intermediate ground. Fourthly, loan places could not be divided among heirs. According to the law of the colony, all the children shared equally in the inheritance of a dead parent, consequently when a man died, his farm—if a loan place—was necessarily sold, in order that the proceeds might be distributed. This system prevented the growth of that attachment to the soil which arises from long residence, and tended to scatter the population thinly over a vast area.

On the 6th of August 1813 a proclamation was issued which permitted occupants of loan places to have their tenure converted into that of perpetual quitrent, and put pressure upon them to do so by prohibiting alienation of any part of a loan place until it should be surveyed and claiming for the government the right of resumption or increasing the rent. The size of the new quitrent farms was limited to three thousand morgen, unless specially sanctioned by the governor in each case. The quitrent was to vary with the situation and quality of the land, and could be fixed as high as two hundred and fifty rixdollars a year. Each farm was to be properly surveyed at the expense of the occupant, and a diagram was to be registered in the deeds office. The government reserved the right to mines of precious stones, gold, and silver; also the right to make and repair public roads, and to the use of materials for that purpose.

Sir John Cradock believed that by this alteration of the land tenure, a great benefit was being conferred upon the colonists, for which they ought to be duly grateful. And no one at the present day will deny that the substitution of permanent quitrent holdings for the old form of leases was an improvement of the greatest importance, though at the time many of the farmers did not see it in that light. They looked upon the old system as giving all the security and advantages that they needed. Under it they could not indeed divide their farms among their children, as the new tenure would enable them to do; but while vast tracts of land lay before them waste

and unoccupied, they preferred that each child should receive a full sized loan place rather than a portion of a quitrent farm. The increased rent and the costs of survey also frightened many of them. The progress of conversion of the tenure of the land already occupied was thus slow, but no grants were thereafter made except under the new system, so that the greater part of the ground in the colony is held at the present day as quitrent farms.

On the 31st of December 1813 the residence of the deputy landdrost of Swellendam was named Caledon by Sir John Cradock, in honour of the late governor. On the 7th of January 1814 the tract of country previously known as the Zuurveld received from the governor the name Albany, and on the 21st of the same month Jan-Dissel's-Vlei, the residence of the deputy landdrost of Tulbagh, was named Clanwilliam by Sir John Cradock, in honour of his father-in-law.

On the 18th of October 1813 the governor left Capetown to make a tour through the colony, and as he visited the most distant parts, he was absent until the 7th of January following. A special object of his inquiry was the conduct of the frontier farmers towards the Xosas who had been driven over the Fish river, as it was asserted by a large party in England that the Europeans in South Africa were guilty of many cruelties towards the adherents of Ndlambe, both before and after the late war. Intercourse between the two races was at this time strictly forbidden, but could not be entirely prevented, as roving bands of Xosas managed to elude the vigilance of the guards at the military posts, and traversed the country either to steal or to beg from the white people. The result of the governor's investigations was published in the *Gazette* upon his return to Capetown: "His Excellency has had the further satisfaction to approve of the good and unoffending conduct of the inhabitants of the frontier towards the Kaffir tribes, the faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the peace and prosperity of this colony."

Two proposals for the introduction of immigrants from Europe were made to the government during Sir John Cradock's

administration, but neither was approved of. One was a plan of Messrs. Van Ryneveld, Truter, Beelaerts van Blokland, and other members of the old Orange party to get out families from Holland who were opposed to the French government then existing, and who, it was believed, would be glad to settle in South Africa. They proposed to form a society, and raise funds by subscription in England, India, and the colony, for the purpose of aiding such immigrants. Sir John Cradock, however, did not approve of a plan that had for its object the introduction of foreigners into a country that he wished to anglicise, and the secretary of state declined to sanction the movement.

The other proposal was made by Lieutenant Colonel John Graham, and was that settlers should be brought out from the Highlands of Scotland to occupy the Zuurveld. At that time the evictions of the peasantry from great estates to make room for sheep and deer, of which pitiful tales are still told in the north, were in full operation, and a great stream of emigration of some of the best people in the world to build up a new country was flowing to America. Colonel Graham wished to divert a branch of it to South Africa, where the hardy Highlanders would certainly have been of the greatest service, but his views met with no support from the authorities.

Sir John Cradock took a very warm interest in everything that tended to the improvement of the people of South Africa, white and black. He was not only the patron, but the promoter, of free schools in Capetown and in several centres in the country for the education of poor European children. A committee of management—termed the bible and school commission—was appointed, consisting of a few of the principal officials and the clergymen of the Dutch reformed, Lutheran, and English episcopal congregations; and a large amount of money was collected by voluntary subscription. The reverend Frederick Hesse, Lutheran minister, was the secretary, and exerted himself greatly in the work. The reverend Robert Jones, English minister, was also a very active member of the committee. Schools for the education of coloured children were

established in Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Tulbagh, by missionaries of the London and South African societies, and were aided as much as possible by the governor. The ordinary schools in Capetown and at the various drostdies likewise received his attention and encouragement.

An enactment by him regarding slaves tended in the same direction, though at first sight it looks otherwise. The old Dutch laws gave freedom to slaves who professed the Christian religion, but as time went on local regulations were made which greatly checked manumission. By the middle of the eighteenth century the ancient laws were regarded as almost obsolete, and baptized negroes were frequently detained in slavery. To rectify this matter, on the 10th of April 1770 the governor-general and council of India enacted that slaves confirmed in the Christian religion should not thereafter be sold. A regulation made by the council of policy at the Cape on the 3rd of June 1777 required that every one emancipating a slave should pay £10 to the poor funds of the church, and also give security that the freed person should not become entitled to relief as a pauper within ten years; but the council reserved to itself the right of suspending this regulation in cases where there were weighty reasons for manumission. A local regulation on such a subject, however, could not supersede an enactment of the council of India. This, which was intended to promote Christianity and to raise its professors in the scale of society, really had the contrary effect, as it placed the interest of the owner as an obstacle to the instruction of the slave, or at least to his open admission into the Christian church. For this reason, on the 9th of October 1812 Sir John Cradock issued a proclamation annulling the law of 1770, and leaving to baptized slaves no greater privileges than to others.

To provide for the religious needs of the people the vacancies in the various churches were gradually filled up, as clergymen could be obtained. In Capetown the reverend Messrs. Fleck and Von Manger, and in Stellenbosch the reverend Mr. Borcherds, still ministered.

After Mr. Aling's death the congregation at Drakenstein was for nearly seven years without other minister than a consulent. In November 1806 the reverend Mr. Van der Spuy was transferred from Zwartland to Drakenstein, where he died in March 1807. The church was then again without a resident clergyman until June 1810, when the reverend Johan Wilhelm Ludwig Gebhard, who had just arrived from Europe, was stationed there.

The reverend Mr. Ballot remained at Tulbagh until his death in January 1814, after which the congregation was for some time without a clergyman.

In March 1810 the reverend M. C. Vos, who had recently returned from Europe, was stationed temporarily at Zwartland; and in February 1811 the reverend J. Scholtz, who had studied in Europe and come back to his native country, was appointed clergyman of that congregation.

In January 1806 the reverend Mr. Kicherer left the service of the London missionary society, and accepted the appointment of clergyman of Graaff-Reinet. In that capacity he laboured with equal diligence among white and coloured people, and was deservedly esteemed by all.

The reverend Mr. Schutz remained clergyman of Swellendam for several years. He was of a quarrelsome disposition, and complaints of his conduct were frequently made to government. These were investigated, and Mr. Schutz was repeatedly reproved and warned until at length, in September 1813, the governor suspended him from duty for two years, and ordered him to remove immediately from the district of Swellendam. The congregation was then left for some time without a clergyman.

The establishment of new churches at Caledon and George has already been mentioned. There was as yet no clergyman at the drostdy of Uitenhage.

The reverend Mr. Hesse remained Lutheran pastor in Capetown.

On the 3rd of October 1811 the reverend Robert Jones, who had accompanied the governor to South Africa, received

the appointment of civil chaplain in Capetown, and was thus the first resident clergyman of the established church of England in the colony. His salary was paid from the colonial treasury. Services were held by him in the building belonging to the Dutch congregation, there being as yet only three church edifices in Capetown: the Dutch reformed, the Lutheran, and the chapel in Long-street belonging to the South African missionary society, which was opened for use in March 1804.

In 1813 a congregation of the English episcopal church was formed at Simonstown, and in September of that year the reverend George Hough became its first clergyman.

The Moravians had as yet only the mission stations of Genadendal and Mamre.

In 1814 the London society had twenty missionaries in South Africa. Beyond the colony the Bushman station at the Zak river was abandoned, as was also the one at the Kuruman river; but the stations among the halfbreeds and Hottentots near the junction of the Orange and the Vaal remained in existence. An attempt had been made to found a station at Warm Bath in Great Namaqualand, but the missionaries and people were driven from it by the robber captain Afrikaner, and they then settled at Pella, in Little Namaqualand, near the southern bank of the Orange. Attempts had also been made to found stations at the residence of old Cornelis Kok in Little Namaqualand and among the Bushmen on the southern bank of the Orange, but they had been abandoned. Within the colony, in 1812 a missionary was stationed at Zuurbrak, a Hottentot reserve in the district of Swellendam, occupied by the remnant of the Attaqua tribe. In 1813 another missionary went to reside at Hoogekraal, a reserve occupied by the remnant of the Outeniqua tribe. This reserve was on the coast close to the drostdy of George. The first missionary there was the reverend Charles Pacalt, a man whose good deeds were long had in remembrance in that part of the country, and who was highly esteemed by all classes of the inhabitants. After his death the station was named Pacaltsdorp, and it is still in existence. In 1814 the number of

residents at Bethelsdorp was greatly reduced by the formation of a new settlement at a place named Theopolis, between the Kariega and Kowie rivers, the ground for which was allotted to the London society by Sir John Cradock. A strict order was then issued that no one should be allowed to settle at Bethelsdorp without the approval of the landdrost of the district.

A few changes in the civil service remain to be noticed. On the 27th of October 1807 Mr. Andrew Barnard, colonial secretary, died. The deputy secretary, Captain Christopher Bird, performed the duty until the 15th of November 1808, when Mr. Henry Alexander, cousin of the earl of Caledon, arrived from England and took over the office. On the 1st of July 1812 Mr. Van der Riet, landdrost of Stellenbosch, was appointed sequestrator, and was succeeded by Mr. Watse Sibius van Andringa. On the 1st of January 1810 Mr. Faure, landdrost of Swellendam, retired on account of old age, and was succeeded by Mr. Petrus Stephanus Buissinne. After the murder of Mr. Stockenstrom the senior heemraad Paul Maré acted as landdrost of Graaff-Reinet until the 10th of July 1812, when Mr. J. H. Fischer took over the duty. On the 7th of August he was succeeded as deputy landdrost of Tulbagh by Mr. Olof Martini Bergh.

During this period complete information was obtained concerning the Batlapin tribe of Betshuana and the mixed people since known as Griquas, who had been collected together by missionaries of the London society near the junction of the Vaal and Orange rivers.

Mr. William J. Burchell, an English gentleman of varied accomplishments and an observant turn of mind, travelled among them, and resided for several months at Klaarwater and Lithako in 1811 and 1812. The Griquas, then under the captains Adam Kok and Barend Barends, had already attained as great a degree of civilisation and prosperity as they have since shown themselves capable of. Their principal settlement was at Klaarwater, now known as Griquatown; but there were outstations at the various places where Messrs. Lichtenstein

and Van de Graaff found them in 1805. The missionaries Anderson, Kramer, and Janssen, of the London and Rotterdam societies, were residing with them. The Batlapin were found to have moved from the Kuruman river to a place close by the large kraal where Messrs. Truter and Somerville met them in 1801. The chief Molehabangwe died early in 1812, and was succeeded by his son Mothibi as paramount ruler of the tribe. Two other sons, Molala and Mahura, acted as captains over sections of the people. The principal kraal was called by the same name as the abandoned one close by, Lithako. It contained about five thousand inhabitants.

The reverend John Campbell, who was sent out to inspect the London society's missions, also visited the Batlapin in 1813. It was he who gave the name Griquas to the people of Kok and Barends, and Griquatown to the station at Klaarwater. From this place he travelled along the Orange river to Pella in Little Namaqualand, and thence through Kamiesberg to Capetown.

The customs duties during the period 1806 to 1814 were frequently changed. Lord Caledon, shortly after his arrival, directed that goods brought in British ships from any part of His Majesty's dominions should be admitted free of duty. This was observed until the 18th of March 1808, after which date only British goods brought in British ships from Great Britain or Ireland were admitted duty free, if brought in foreign ships a duty of 7 per cent was levied. Foreign and colonial goods brought in British ships were then made subject to a duty of 5 per cent of their value, if brought in neutral ships to 15 per cent. European prize goods were subjected to a duty of 5 per cent, and Indian prize goods to 10 per cent of the amounts realised at their sale by public auction. On Indian goods brought in the Company's ships a duty of 5 per cent of the prime cost was levied. The export duties remained as fixed by Sir David Baird. After the 29th of March 1810 the duty on foreign goods brought in British ships was raised to 10 per cent of their value. On the 18th of October 1811 all export duties were abolished. After

the 12th of April 1812 by an order in council trade to and from the Cape was confined to British shipping, except that foreign vessels might be specially licensed by the government to import provisions. From the 8th of July 1813 a duty of 3 per cent of the value of British goods was levied for revenue purposes.

Of the ships last mentioned as forming the South African squadron, the *Galatea* had remained but a short time on the coast,* the *Malacca* had been sent to India in September 1811 for service there, the *Olympia* had departed for England in October, the *Phœbe* in November, and the *Staunch* about December 1811,* the *Scipion* had followed in January and the *Eclipse* in June 1812, the *President* in February, the *Astrea* in May, the *Racehorse* in August, and the *Nisus* in September 1813. The *Lion*, 64-gun ship, had joined the Cape squadron at Java in September 1811, and in February 1814 had left for England. The *Semiramis*, 36-gun frigate, had arrived in February 1813, and was now being made ready to convey Sir John Cradock to England and to act as protector of transports in which the 93rd regiment was returning home. In April 1814 the squadron consisted of the *Harpy*, the *Stag*, 36-gun frigate, which had arrived in September 1813, the *Laurel*, 38-gun frigate, and the *Niger*, 36-gun frigate, which had arrived in March 1814, and the *Medway*, 74-gun ship. Several other vessels of war were on their way out for service on the station. The squadron was under the command of Rear Admiral Charles Tyler, who had taken over the duty on the 7th of February 1813.

Previous to 1814 the squadron had used Table Bay as its place of resort during the summer and Simon's Bay during the winter months, and there were naval arsenals and workshops at both Capetown and Simonstown. To reduce expense, the establishment at Capetown was discontinued, and since the winter of 1814 Simon's Bay has been the sole station

* The naval records of this period are defective, and the exact dates of departure of these ships cannot be ascertained. The arrivals and departures of most of the others have been obtained from their logbooks.

of the British fleet in South African waters where stores are kept and where appliances for repairing vessels are maintained.

The troops in South Africa in April 1814 were 325 artillerymen, the 21st light dragoons, the 83rd regiment of the line, the first battalion of the 60th, and the Hottentot regiment, which in January 1807 had been enlarged to 800 rank and file, in June 1810 had been reduced to 550, and in January 1814 again enlarged to 800. There was also a company of 154 pensioners at Algoa Bay, making the whole force, inclusive of officers, 4,300 strong.

Among the last acts of Sir John Cradock in South Africa were an order on the 11th of November 1813 that all courts of justice, without exception, were thereafter to conduct their proceedings with open doors, and the issue of a proclamation on the 1st of April 1814 equalising the local taxes paid in the various country districts, both measures calculated to promote satisfaction. In 1813 he had applied for permission to return to England, and on the 2nd of November of that year a successor was appointed in the person of Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset. With his family Lord Charles embarked in the ship of war *Medway*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 5th of April 1814. Sir John Cradock wished to retain the government until some cases then before the court of appeal were concluded, that he might transfer the administration in perfect order, but Lord Charles was unwilling to wait, and on the morning of the 6th he took the oaths of office.

The late governor sailed for England in the frigate *Semiramis* on the 1st of May. In 1819 he was created Baron Howden, a title which descended to his son, but is now with his family extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 6TH APRIL 1814; EMBARKED FOR ENGLAND ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE 13TH JANUARY 1820.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET, who on the 6th of April 1814 became governor of the Cape Colony, was a man of ability and energy. The second son of the duke of Beaufort and younger brother of the marquess of Worcester, he was connected by blood or marriage with nearly all the great tory families of the kingdom. His mother was a daughter of Admiral Boscawen. A younger brother—Major-General Lord Edward Somerset—was then serving with the duke of Wellington; another younger brother—Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset—who lost his right arm at Waterloo, was destined many years later, with the title of Lord Raglan, to command the British army in the Crimean war. As a tory ministry was in power in England, and his relatives possessed enormous influence, the governor came to South Africa with very little restraint upon his actions. He was then forty-six years of age. Unable to brook opposition to his will, relentless in crushing those who tried to thwart him, he was affable to all who conducted themselves to his liking.

At the time of his appointment as governor of the Cape Colony great changes were taking place in Europe, owing to the reverses sustained by the emperor Napoleon. In November 1813 the French party in the Netherlands lost its ascendency, a provisional government was formed, and as every individual of note recognised that the establishment of a republic was impossible, the prince of Orange was invited to return. After

a residence in England of nineteen years, on the 1st of December he landed at Scheveningen, and was received by the dominant faction of the Dutch people as their sovereign.

On the 11th of April 1814 the abdication of Napoleon took place, and shortly afterwards negotiations were commenced which terminated in treaties signed at Paris on the 30th of May between the restored Bourbon king of France and the king of Great Britain, the emperor of Austria, the czar of Russia, and the king of Prussia. In the third article of the treaty between the English and French monarchs it was agreed that part of the ancient Belgic provinces should be incorporated in France; in the sixth article that Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, should receive an increase of territory; in the seventh that the island of Malta and its dependencies should belong in full right and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty; and in the eighth that all the foreign possessions of France should be restored except the islands of Tobago and Saint Lucia in the West Indies and Mauritius with its dependencies, especially Rodriguez and the Sechelles, which His Most Christian Majesty ceded in full right and sovereignty to the king of Great Britain.

The ninth article requires some explanation. The French island of Guadeloupe had capitulated to a British force on the 5th of February 1810. In the fifth article of the treaty of concert and subsidy between His Britannic Majesty and the king of Sweden, signed at Stockholm on the 3rd of March 1813, Guadeloupe was ceded to Sweden as fully as it was possible to transfer a dependency held by right of conquest only. And now, by the ninth article of the treaty of Paris the island was restored to France, with the consent of the Swedish monarch, according to an arrangement made between the allies.

The third secret article of the treaty of Paris provided for the incorporation of what was left of the Belgic provinces with the northern Netherlands. It reads: "The establishment of a just balance of power in Europe requiring that Holland should be so constituted as to be enabled to support her

independence through her own resources, the Countries comprised between the Sea, the Frontiers of France such as they are defined by the present Treaty, and the Meuse, shall be given up for ever to Holland."

By this arrangement the government of Great Britain hoped that a strong friendly kingdom would be created under the dominion of the house of Orange, and intended that a barrier line of fortresses should be constructed along its frontier adjoining France to prevent sudden invasion. The project originated with Viscount Castlereagh, then minister for foreign affairs, who believed that by promoting it England was displaying almost romantic friendship and generosity towards Holland. Few of the Dutch people, however, expressed any desire for the union of Belgium with their country.

Nothing had as yet been settled with regard to the Dutch colonies, but soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Paris the sovereign prince of Orange consented to a proposal of Lord Castlereagh that in consideration of the gain of territory by Holland in Europe, recompense should be made from them to Sweden for giving up Guadeloupe. Sweden, however, rejected every offer of Dutch islands in the West Indies successively made to her, and declared that she would be satisfied with nothing short of the whole of what is now British Guiana.

In Holland a large section of the people appeared to be apathetic with regard to the distant countries that had once been theirs. They had no ships, for their ocean commerce had been destroyed, and their home land was so impoverished that they saw no possibility of being able to garrison remote dependencies. Another section, however, represented by Mr. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, at this time one of the most prominent men in the country, desired to recover the colonies, and even expressed a hope that Great Britain, having moulded their destinies according to her will, would restore all that had been theirs before the outbreak of the French revolution. That would include Ceylon, which had been transferred to England by the treaty of Amiens, and would leave nothing whatever to the victor, which was far from reasonable. As

soon as negotiations on the subject were opened it became evident to every one that the Cape Colony would not be restored. The English people were determined to keep it, and as it would be necessary to assist the Netherlands with a considerable amount of money to defray the costs connected with the establishment of the enlarged state, something must be secured in return. Very little therefore was said about the Cape compared with the lengthy discussions concerning Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, which England desired to retain, because since their conquest a large amount of British capital had been invested there, and which Mr. Van Nagell, the Dutch minister for foreign affairs, was exceedingly anxious to recover.

The negotiations were conducted on the English side by Viscount Castlereagh and Lord Clancarty, British representative at the Hague, and on the Dutch side by the sovereign prince himself, Mr. A. W. C. van Nagell, Mr. Anton Reinhard Falck, general secretary of state, and Mr. Hendrik Fagel, representative of the Netherlands in London. Mr. Van Nagell was difficult to deal with. He would not agree to Lord Castlereagh's proposal to contribute a certain amount of money towards the construction of the barrier fortresses if the four colonies were formally ceded, but regarded their restoration as a matter of right. The sovereign prince, however, and Messrs. Falck and Fagel were of a different opinion. They recognised the truth of the British minister's assertion that both the charges to be incurred for the fortifications and the restoration of any of the colonies were purely optional on the part of England, and they thought it prudent to accept the money and to express their thankfulness for the recovery of Java and other settlements. Mr. Van Nagell tendered his resignation rather than agree to what he regarded as more a demand than a proposal, but was induced by the sovereign prince to retain his post. He refused, however, to sign the convention.

While these negotiations were proceeding, an arrangement was made by Lord Castlereagh with Sweden that instead of territorial compensation for Guadeloupe she should receive one

million pounds sterling in money, so that the Dutch should lose nothing more than the four colonies. On the 13th of August 1814 a convention was signed in London, in which Great Britain agreed to restore to the Netherlands all the dependencies possessed by that country on the 1st of January 1803 except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. In order the better to provide for the defence and incorporation of the Belgic provinces with Holland, Great Britain undertook to pay one million pounds sterling to Sweden, two million pounds sterling towards augmenting and improving the defences of Belgium, and to bear further charges towards the final settlement of the Belgic provinces in union with Holland to an amount not exceeding three million pounds sterling. And in consideration thereof the sovereign prince of the Netherlands ceded to Great Britain the Cape Colony and the settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice in South America.

It was stipulated, however, that Dutch colonists in the ceded countries should be at liberty to carry on trade with the Netherlands, and that ships of every kind belonging to Holland should be permitted to resort freely to the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of refreshment and repairs, without being liable to other charges than such as British subjects should be required to pay.

From this date therefore the claim of the Netherlands to the Cape Colony ceased, and the dominion of Great Britain over the country has never since been challenged by any power. As far as the colonists were concerned the convention made this difference in their position, that the capitulations of 1806 ceased to be binding, and any changes considered desirable by the British government could be effected without breach of faith. None, however, were made for several years. The convention provided that any resident in the ceded colonies who chose to do so could dispose of his property and retire to another country within six years, that is any one who wished to retain his Dutch nationality could remove to the Netherlands within that period. As far as is known, in South

Africa only two individuals with their families made use of this liberty: Mr. Francis Willem Fagel, vendue master at the Cape, brother of the Dutch ambassador in London, and Mr. Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, secretary to the high court of justice. The farmers in the interior could not have left the country, even had they desired to do so, and in point of fact years passed away before the terms of the convention became known to them generally. The view that they then took of the matter will be shown in another chapter.

The governor was accompanied to South Africa by his lady, two sons, and two daughters. But his family circle was not long complete. Lady Somerset, who was a daughter of Viscount Courtenay, died suddenly on the 11th of September 1815. Her remains were laid in a vault beneath the pavement of the Dutch reformed church, where the ground is so mixed with the ashes of the dead that it is like one great grave.*

A few months after Lord Charles Somerset's arrival he founded a large agricultural establishment in the eastern part of the colony, partly for the purpose of supplying the troops on the frontier with meat and oathay, and partly for experiments

* Her funeral, though in the death notice in the *Gazette* stated to have been conducted with as much privacy as possible, was among the latest—if not the very last—at the Cape attended by *huilebaiken*, professional mourners, persons hired to walk at the head of a funeral procession and perform certain ceremonies at the interment. The origin of this custom must be sought in very ancient days. It is supposed to have been brought to this colony from the Indies, not from Europe, after the middle of the eighteenth century: but much uncertainty exists on this point, and I have found nothing in the records to settle it. The *huilebaiken* were distinct from the *tropsluiters*, who were merely employed to lengthen the procession, and who were paid at the rate of one rixdollar each. There were several reasons for employing *tropsluiters:* 1. The nearer the corpse the greater the distinction, consequently relatives and friends wished to see a row of people behind them. 2. A large and imposing funeral procession was regarded as a mark of respect to the deceased. 3. There was a superstition that the last in a funeral procession would be the next to die. The *tropsluiters* could quietly exchange places, and, as was said, distribute the risk among a number. The last cause appears a very absurd one, but there are still people living who remember how strongly it operated in bygone times.

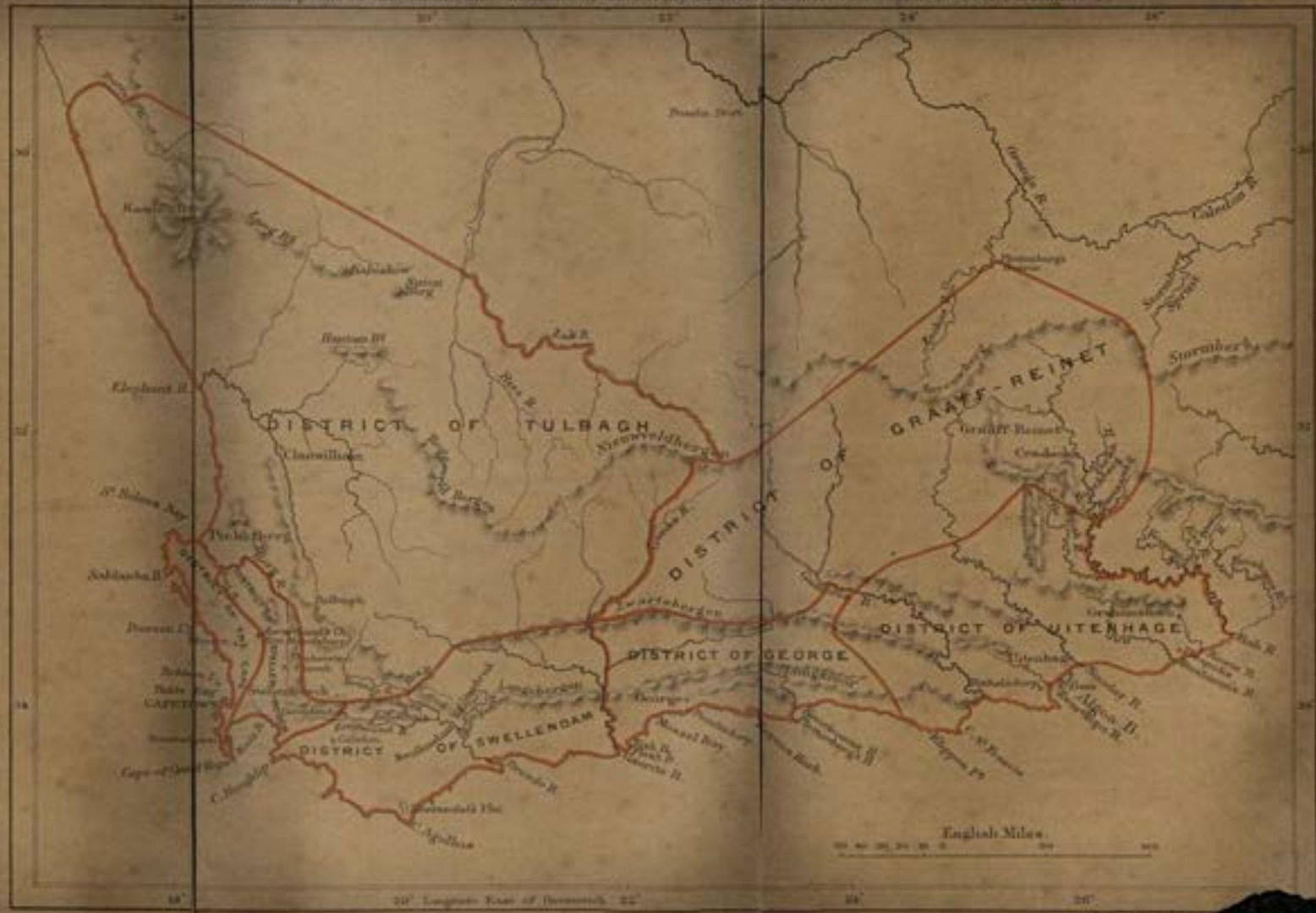
This map shows the extent and divisions of the Colony in 1814, when it was ceded to Great Britain.

The places where there were courts of law were

Centres of districts	Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
	Stellenbosch, village founded in December 1679,
	Swellendam, village founded in October 1746,
	Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October 1786,
	Tulbagh, village founded (as church place) in October 1743,
	Uitenhage, village founded in November 1804,
	George, village founded in April 1811,
Sub-drostdies	Clanwilliam, court established in February 1809,
	Caledon, court established in April 1811,
	Grahamstown, court established in July 1812,
	Cradock, court established in July 1812,
Seaport town	Simonstown, court established in March 1809.

The Churches were at

Dutch reformed	Capetown, established in August 1665,
	Stellenbosch, established in December 1686,
	Drakenstein, established in December 1691,
	Tulbagh, established in October 1743,
	Zwartland (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745,
	Graaff-Reinet, established in March 1792,
	Swellendam, established in May 1798,
	Caledon, established in May 1811,
	George, established in February 1813.
Lutheran	Capetown, established in December 1780.
English episcopal	Capetown, established in October 1811,
	Simonstown, established in September 1813.
Moravian mission	Ozendendal, established in December 1792.
	Mamre, established in March 1808,
London mission	Bethelsdorp, established in May 1804,
	Zuurbrak, established in 1813,
	Paraliedorp, established in 1813,
	Theopolis, established in 1814.



in the cultivation of tobacco, with a view of increasing the exports. The site selected was the tract of land at the Boschberg taken possession of by Willem Prinsloo in the time of Governor Van Plettenberg. It had recently been divided into two loan places, which were then occupied by farmers named Triegard and Bester. The leases were cancelled, and Dr. Mackrill—a skilful botanist*—was provided with the necessary labourers and appliances, and was directed to carry out the governor's design. Dr. Mackrill named the place the Somerset farm. The experiment of cultivating tobacco came to nothing; but as a means of furnishing provisions for the troops the establishment was a decided success, especially after it came under the superintendence of Mr. Robert Hart, who succeeded Dr. Mackrill in January 1817. Magazines were then built, in which grain purchased from farmers in the district could be stored with that grown upon the place; and here also cattle were purchased and kept to be sent away as required. The establishment thus became a commissariat depôt as well as an agricultural farm.

Lord Charles Somerset was as desirous as any one could be for the improvement of the colony and the prosperity of its people, only everything tending to improvement and prosperity must emanate from himself. The experimental farm at Groote Post was still under the management of a board of directors consisting of the leading agriculturists of the colony and several of the principal civil servants. It had been usual to request the governor to fill the position of president, and that office had been little more than honorary. Lord Charles politely thanked the members when they asked him to be their president, but they soon learned that he was disposed to be something beyond a mere patron. He went to Groote Post, and issued instructions how the work was to be carried on. Some of the directors attempted to give expression to their

* It was he who introduced buchu to the notice of medical men in England. The plant, however, long before his time had been in use in South Africa, nearly every housewife keeping a supply of it among the remedies for ailments.

opinions, and declined to attend the meetings when they found the governor resolved to enforce his own views. Hereupon, in March 1815 his Excellency dissolved the board, and assumed direct control himself.

The governor was fond of the raceground, and had the reputation of being an excellent judge of a horse. He liked to see the choicest animals in his stables, and made it his aim that South Africa should produce strong well-formed horses in sufficient numbers for the requirements of the army in India. The public funds were inadequate to procure as many breeding animals of a high class as he desired to introduce, and he imported many at his own expense. Mainly through his efforts the breed of horses was so much improved that a few years later there was a considerable export to Mauritius and India.

In 1815 a mail packet service was established between England and the Cape. Fast-sailing vessels were employed by the imperial government to leave the Thames monthly, and to convey mails, passengers, and light cargo to the Cape Colony, Mauritius, and India. The postage on letters was fixed at three shillings and sixpence for every quarter of an ounce, and on newspapers at three pence an ounce. People were not to be prevented, however, from sending letters through the post-office from England to the Cape by other conveyances, though the charge was only one shilling and two pence, and from the Cape to England only eight pence the quarter ounce. The higher rates by the regular service were to be paid for regularity and speed. The first mail packet that sailed from London was the *Eclipse*, Captain Burford, which dropped down the Thames on the 20th of December, and after touching at Madeira and Rio de Janeiro, arrived in Table Bay on the 13th of April 1816. Her passage of one hundred and fourteen days was not encouraging to those who looked for rapid communication between England and South Africa.

It is impossible to give an accurate list of all the shipwrecks on the South African coast during the early years of the century, as the records of such occurrences are incomplete.

Occasionally, however, some great disaster took place, of which particulars have been preserved.

This was the case with the *Arniston*, an English transport, commanded by Captain George Simpson, which was on her homeward passage from Ceylon when at noon on the 30th of May 1815 breakers were seen through thick mist to leeward. The wind was blowing towards the land, and a current was setting in the same direction, so that all attempts to get out to sea were fruitless. By four o'clock the position was so perilous that three anchors were dropped; but as two of the cables parted, the captain resolved to run the ship ashore before nightfall, as the only chance of saving the lives of those on board. She struck a long way from the water's edge, about twenty-five miles north-east of Cape Agulhas. There were three hundred and seventy-eight souls on board, including fourteen women and twenty-five children. Among her passengers were Major-General the viscount Molesworth and his lady, and there were a good many invalided soldiers and sailors returning to England. When darkness set in not a single boat was ready. Before midnight the ship went to pieces, and of all on board only a carpenter and five sailors reached the land alive. On the 14th of June a young man named Daniel Swart, happening by chance to ride to the beach from his father's house a few miles distant, came across the survivors, who had been wandering up and down the coast, living on shellfish and food that washed ashore. He took them back with him, and made the disaster known to the government, when a party of labourers was sent to search along the beach. No fewer than three hundred and forty bodies were found and buried; and a considerable quantity of arrack in casks, ship's furniture, and other articles that had drifted to land were secured.

Another, though much less disastrous wreck, was that of the Dutch ship-of-war *Amsterdam*. This vessel was dismasted at sea, but her crew managed to get her into Algoa Bay, which port she reached on the 16th of December 1817 in a sinking condition. She had only one small boat left, and in

that a lady with her two children and the ship's papers of importance were sent on shore under charge of Lieutenant Aspeling. Every moment it was feared that the vessel would go down. There were still two hundred and twenty men, all told, on board, so Captain Hofmeyer, as the only chance of saving their lives, ran the ship ashore as soon as he could. A little before dusk she struck on the beach about halfway between the mouths of the Zwartkops and Koega rivers, and two hundred and seventeen men got safely to land. Three were drowned. In the night between the 19th and 20th of December the wreck broke up, but hardly anything drifted on the beach. The officers and men were left with nothing but the scanty clothing they had on, and were in great distress until the landdrost of Uitenhage and some officers from Fort Frederick arrived and made such arrangements for their accommodation as were possible under the circumstances. The plain adjoining the scene of the wreck has ever since been known as the Amsterdam flats.

In the early years of the nineteenth century there was living in Capetown a lady named Margaretha Anna Heyning, the widow of Hendrik Pieter Moller. To use her own expression in a letter to the governor, she was blessed with worldly goods, and believed it was her duty as a Christian to use those goods for the relief of the poor and afflicted. Among the objects of her benevolence were indigent aged women, for whom she purposed to build an asylum. In September 1799 a plan was submitted to the governor for approval. She proposed to have a suitable building erected, and to assist in raising a sum of money, the interest of which should be applied in perpetuity to the maintenance in whole or in part of such of the inmates as required aid. The governor cordially approved of the plan, and granted for the purpose a plot of ground at the top of Long-street, upon part of which the orphan asylum now stands.

The conditions drawn up by Mrs. Moller provided that whatever sums should be raised were to be invested by a board of directors on sufficient security, and that during the

first five years any interest accruing was to be added to the capital. After that time the interest was to be applied to the subsistence of widows or other women over fifty-five years of age, or such as were sick or infirm under that age if special and urgent circumstances required it, the rule always being observed that the fund was established to aid really helpless and distressed old women, and not to nourish sloth and idleness. Those were to have the preference who were without assistance from parents, children, brothers, or sisters. They were to be of a sober Christian comportment. They were to bind themselves to refund any aid received, in case they should acquire property by donation or inheritance.

As the first board of directors, Mrs. Moller named Jan Vlotman, Godlieb Willem Bruckner, Jan Bongard, and Gerhard Ewoud Overbeek. Upon the death or retirement of any of these, the others were to appoint a successor, and so on in perpetuity. An annual meeting was to be held, at which the accounts were to be produced. Any person contributing twenty pounds to the capital fund was to be regarded as a fellow founder with herself, and was to have the right of attending and making suggestions at the yearly meeting. Otherwise the directors were to have entire control of the charity.

The fund was then commenced by Mrs. Moller contributing three hundred and thirty-three pounds towards it. When the five years were expired there was a sum of nearly three thousand five hundred pounds sterling in hand, the greater portion of which was given by Mrs. Moller herself. In the meantime the plan of building an asylum was abandoned, and in its stead was substituted a monthly distribution of money to aged Christian women in want, without distinction of church or colour.*

Not long after this charity was projected Mrs. Moller gave to the reverend Michiel Christiaan Vos, of Tulbagh, a sum of

* In 1890, when I was favoured with an inspection of the records of these charities, about one hundred and twenty old women were in receipt of monthly allowances from this fund.

twelve hundred pounds sterling for the purpose of building a church in some suitable place in the Roggeveld. But before anything was done in this matter tidings were received of the treaty of Amiens, and Mr. Vos, who was an adherent of the Orange party, resolved to leave the colony. He then returned the money to Mrs. Moller, who set it aside to be invested in some way for the service of God.

For several years the exact form that the new charity should assume was not settled, but in 1808 Mrs. Moller resolved to build an orphan asylum, and endow it with that money. Upon part of the plot of ground granted by the government for the projected asylum for old women three houses had been put up with the accumulated funds, for the purpose of being leased; the foundation of the building originally planned was standing on another part; and there was a vacant space, which was sold in later years for the benefit of the old women's fund, and realised six hundred pounds. The earl of Caledon, upon being applied to, raised no objection to the part of the ground upon which the foundation was standing being used for an orphanage, and so far favoured the undertaking that in July 1811 he made it a donation of five thousand rixdollars from his private purse. Lord Charles Somerset also approved of the design, and in July 1814 directed the board that administered the estates of persons dying intestate to advance to the directors of the orphan asylum the sum of eight thousand rixdollars on loan without interest, which was practically equivalent to a grant.

No haste was made in carrying out the design, however, for though the building was completed in October 1814, it was only on the 26th of September 1815 that the South African orphan house—as the institution is termed—was formally opened. The reverend Mr. Serrurier, then bowed down with years, delivered his last public address on this occasion, and a collection of about one hundred and sixty pounds sterling was made on behalf of the endowment fund.

The management of this institution was vested in a board of six directors, three of whom were to be Lutherans and

three members of the Dutch reformed church. Whenever one died or retired the survivors were to appoint a successor. The six named by Mrs. Moller to form the first board of directors were George Willem Hoppe, Simon Stronk, Gabriel Jacobus Vos, Sebastiaan Leibbrandt, Frans de Necker, and Johan Wrensch, with Andries Richert as secretary. After Mrs. Moller's death, however, the two institutions founded by her were united under a board of eight directors, but the funds are still kept separate.

In her will and codicils, the last dated 6th of December 1814, Mrs. Moller bequeathed to the endowment fund of the orphan asylum, in addition to the twelve hundred pounds already mentioned, a teacher's residence and school-room in Hout-street, facing Long-street, then leased to the Lutheran congregation, on condition that it should never be used for other than religious purposes, and two slaves, one to be set free after fifteen years' service, the other to be taught a trade and to be emancipated after ten years' service, on payment of four hundred rixdollars. After several bequests to relatives and friends, and donations of a hundred rixdollars to each of several charities, the residue of her property was to be divided equally between the orphan house and the South African missionary society.

Altogether Mrs. Moller's contributions to the orphan asylum amounted to about six thousand pounds. The donations of other individuals up to the date of its establishment—exclusive of those already mentioned—were about one thousand pounds in value. In 1845 a gentleman named Henry Murray bequeathed three thousand three hundred pounds to the institution, so that it has been able to maintain comfortably about thirty-three children at a time, though it seldom has the full number. Several of those reared and educated within its walls have attained positions of eminence in the colony.

In May 1812 a number of ladies who met together at stated times for charitable purposes established a fund for the relief of distressed people of both sexes. In June 1820 they transferred the money they had in hand, amounting to two

thousand six hundred and sixty-six rixdollars, to the directors of the orphan house, to be held as a separate trust for the benefit of poor persons. The money was invested, but the calls upon it were so few that by 1884 it amounted to twelve hundred and fifty pounds. It was then transferred to a dorcas almshouse which had just been founded by the Dutch reformed church.

The salaries of the civil servants at this time were very unequally apportioned. The following had theirs fixed in sterling money upon their appointment in England: the governor £10,000 a year, his private secretary £500, the lieutenant-governor £3,000, the colonial secretary £3,500, the deputy colonial secretary £1,500, the auditor-general £1,050, the colonial paymaster £1,000, the collector of customs £1,000, the controller of customs £1,000, the chief searcher of customs £700, the collector of customs at Simonstown £700, the port captain of Table Bay £500, the English clergyman of Capetown £500, and the English clergyman of Simonstown £350. These officers absorbed more than one-third of the whole amount expended in salaries. They were paid according to the rate of exchange, as ascertained by the purchase of treasury bills, so that the value of the paper rixdollar made no difference to them.

The other civil servants had their salaries fixed in rixdollars, and received the same number of these, no matter whether the exchange was high or low. Thus when the paper rixdollar sank, as in 1815, to be worth no more than 2*s.* 2¾*d.*, these people, who could hardly live comfortably when it was on a par with silver, were in a condition bordering closely on distress. Until 1818 even the chief justice was in receipt of only six thousand rixdollars, and the other judges of only three thousand two hundred and fifty; but in that year Earl Bathurst, then secretary of state for the colonies, directed that the chief justice should be paid £1,000, and the four senior judges each £500 a year. They all held other appointments in the service, however, and some of them drew salaries for three or four different situations.

The cost of the Hottentot regiment was a charge against the revenue, and its existence was very objectionable to the colonists. Just before Sir John Cradock left South Africa, he raised this corps from five hundred to eight hundred men, his object being to relieve the burghers who were garrisoning the posts on the frontier. Instead of that, however, some European troops were withdrawn, and the burghers were obliged to remain on duty until April 1815, when Lord Charles Somerset, in order to allow them to return to their homes, sent up every soldier that could be spared from guarding Capetown. The governor had no more liking for the Hottentot regiment than the colonists had, and he urged the secretary of state to disband it and substitute a battalion of Europeans. The imperial authorities consented, but it was not then convenient to send other troops to take its place.

The bitter feeling among the farmers of the eastern districts caused by the prosecutions before the circuit court three years earlier was still prevalent, and discontent created by the increased land-rents was general among those who did not realise the advantage of fixed tenures of their properties, while the presence of the Hottentot regiment on the frontier was a source of irritation to the white inhabitants of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet.

More than two years previous to this date, a charge of ill-treatment of a coloured servant had been made to the deputy landdrost of Cradock against a man named Frederik Cornelis Bezuidenhout, who resided in the valley of the Baviaans' River—now Glen Lynden—on a farm adjoining the ground allotted in 1820 to the poet Pringle. The locality was one of the wildest in South Africa, barely accessible by waggon, on the very border of Kaffirland, thirty miles as the crow flies from the nearest magistrate's office, then recently established, and eighty miles from the nearest church. The inhabitants of that part of the colony, engaged almost constantly in defending their herds from the depredations of their barbarous neighbours, were the hardiest

and most fearless of men, but were quite uneducated from books, turbulent, and averse to restraint in any form. They had the reputation also of being excessively harsh in their treatment of coloured servants, and undoubtedly cases of cruel conduct could with justice be charged against some of them, though such occurrences did not deter Hottentots from taking service with them as cattle herds. Among the roughest of them all was Frederik Cornelis Bezuidenhout, a man about forty-three years of age, who lived on his secluded farm with only his wife, his little daughter, a half-breed servant, and a youth named Labuschagne, who assisted in herding his cattle. His son Gerrit, with an establishment of his own, resided on a farm some distance away.

He took no notice of repeated summonses to appear before the deputy landdrost's court, so a complaint was lodged with the judges on circuit at Graaff-Reinet, one of whom was the former landdrost Bresler; but their summons was also disregarded, in consequence of which he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for contumacy. Lieutenant Andries Stockenstrom * was at that time landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, having succeeded Mr. Fischer in May 1815, when the last named was tranferred to Tulbagh. At the same time Mr. Jan Frederik van de Graaff succeeded Lieutenant Stockenstrom at Cradock. The judges instructed the landdrost to cause Bezuidenhout to be apprehended, and Lieutenant Stockenstrom directed the under-sheriff to apply to Fieldcornet Cornelis Johannes Olivier for assistance, and also gave him a letter to Captain Andrews, who commanded the nearest military post, requesting that officer to furnish aid if required.

The under-sheriff proceeded to the residence of Fieldcornet Olivier, who declined to render any service, as he said he was

* Military officers filling civil appointments received promotion in rank just as if they remained attached to the army. Besides Landdrost Stockenstrom, there were several other instances of the kind at this period, among them the deputy colonial secretary and the landdrost of Uitenhage.

aware Bezuidenhout was prepared to resist, and his life would be in danger. The officer then went on to the military post, and delivered the landdrost's letter. After reading it, Captain Andrews directed Lieutenant Frans Rousseau and twelve Hottentot soldiers to accompany the under-sheriff, who had only one constable with him, to Bezuidenhout's farm. Ensign McKay also went with the party. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th of October 1815, when they were near their destination, they were observed, and the alarm was instantly given. In the principal apartment of every frontier farmer's house, hanging against the wall in the most convenient place for grasping on any emergency, was a huge flint-locked weapon, known as an elephant gun. Beside it, equally handy for use, were a powder horn and a bag of slugs. Bezuidenhout, who expected a visit from the officers of the law, and who was determined to resist, had no fewer than four elephant guns in readiness. Young Labuschagne, who lived with him, was at the time away on the pasture with the cattle. Seizing two of the guns himself, and accompanied by the half-breed servant Hans and a young man named Jacob Erasmus, who had been staying there with some cattle for a few weeks, he took up a position behind some large rocks, from which he and Hans fired ten or twelve shots towards Lieutenant Rousseau's party, but aiming wide, in hope of frightening them away. Then, upon the soldiers returning the fire, the three men fled to a couple of holes like small caves in a rock near the river.

The mouth of the cave in which Bezuidenhout and Hans took shelter was ten feet from the ground, and could only be reached by one man at a time, but from the top of the rock the inmates could be heard and spoken to. During three or four hours Bezuidenhout was repeatedly summoned to surrender, but persistently refused to do so, and declared that he would never be captured alive. Then the soldiers were ordered to enter the cave and seize him. When they were trying to do so, he fired at the sergeant, who was in

advance, but did not hit him. He was in the act of taking aim the second time with his spare gun, and in doing so exposed the upper part of his body, when he was pierced by a bullet, and died instantly. Jacob Erasmus, who was in a separate cave, and Hans gave themselves up, and were conducted to Graaff-Reinet, where they were put upon their trial before the circuit judges for resisting the officer of the court in the execution of his duty. Erasmus, who had not fired a single shot, was acquitted, and the evidence against Hans was submitted to the full bench in Capetown, by whom he also was discharged from custody on the ground that he had not been a free agent.

On the following day, the 17th of October, the relatives and friends of the dead man assembled at the funeral, when Johannes Bezuidenhout, a brother of the deceased, at the grave-side declared that he would never rest until the Hottentot corps was driven from the frontier, and he had wreaked his vengeance upon the authorities under whose orders the soldiers had acted. The landdrost Stockenstrom, a fieldcornet named Opperman, who was suspected of having given advice and information concerning Frederik Bezuidenhout to the landdrost, and Lieutenant Rousseau were named as specially deserving of vengeance. Most of the others present expressed the warmest sympathy with Jan Bezuidenhout, and before the party dispersed an insurrection was planned. A little later a meeting took place on another farm, when it was resolved that a deputation should proceed to Gaika's kraal and endeavour to get assistance from him. Cornelis Faber, whose sister was Jan Bezuidenhout's wife, with three or four others immediately left on this mission.

Shortly after they had gone, their object in visiting Gaika was made known to Fieldcornet Opperman by one who was present at their discussions. The fieldcornet at once proceeded to Graaff-Reinet to inform Landdrost Stockenstrom, but on the way came to learn that he, the landdrost, and Lieutenant Rousseau were held by the relatives of Bezuidenhout to be responsible for what had occurred. In consequence,

Opperman did not venture to return from Graaff-Reinet, but addressed a letter to one of his friends, named Willem Frederik Krugel, requesting him to act as fieldcornet.

On the 9th of November 1815 the principal conspirators met at the house of Diederik Mulder. Besides Jan Bezuidenhout and Cornelis Faber, there were at the gathering Hendrik Frederik Prinsloo, son of old Marthinus Prinsloo, the former leader of the nationals, Theunis de Klerk, who was married to Prinsloo's sister, Stephanus Botma, a man once convicted of forgery, and Andries Meyer, a turbulent frontiersman. There a letter was drawn up, and addressed to an elderly farmer of influence named Jacobus Kruger, in which he was informed of their plans and invited to join them. The letter was written by Botma from the dictation of Bezuidenhout, and was signed by Prinsloo. It was given to Christiaan Mulder to take to Kruger. By the advice of his brother, at whose house the meeting was held, though he was not disposed to join in resistance to the government, Mulder, instead of proceeding to Kruger's, rode to the farm of Stephanus van Wyk, fieldcornet of the Tarka, and gave the document to him. Van Wyk hastened with it to the deputy landdrost at Cradock, who forwarded copies to Major Fraser at Grahamstown, and to Captain Andrews. The original letter was sent to Landdrost Stockenstrom at Graaff-Reinet. Mr. Van de Graaff also addressed an order to Fieldcornet Opperman to call out a commando to assist in preventing an inroad of the Kaffirs; and this order, on account of Opperman's remaining at Graaff-Reinet, came into the hands of Willem Krugel.

The authorities, being thus made acquainted with the design, took prompt measures to frustrate it. A patrol was sent out by Captain Andrews, and Hendrik Prinsloo was surprised, arrested, and conveyed a prisoner to the post, which was on the farm of Willem van Aardt, while his associates were still unsuspicious of danger. The intelligence of his arrest, however, instead of spreading dismay among them, caused them to push on their plans with greater vigour than before.

Gaika had declined to assist them when first requested to do so, but Faber now returned to the kraal of that chief and offered the whole of the Zuurveld, together with the cattle belonging to the Cape regiment and a quantity of iron and copper, in exchange for the valley of the Kat river and aid against the Hottentot soldiers. Gaika was too wary, however, to consent to the proposal, and replied that he must see how the wind blew before he placed himself by a fire.

Notwithstanding the failure of the negotiations with the Kaffir chief, on the 12th of November Abraham Botma, by order of Jan Bezuidenhout, sent an intimation from house to house in the Tarka, announcing that Gaika had promised help, inviting the burghers to join the enterprise, and threatening those who should decline with being left unprotected to the mercy of the Kaffirs. On this occasion Theunis de Klerk was particularly busy.

Meantime Willem Krugel, acting for Fieldcornet Opperman, in accordance with the order of the deputy landdrost Van de Graaff, called a number of farmers together at the homestead of Daniel Erasmus, for the purpose of resisting a Kaffir invasion. When they assembled, almost to a man they declared themselves on the side of the government, but on the following evening Theunis de Klerk, Jan Bezuidenhout, and Nicolaas Prinsloo appeared among them, and persuaded them to assist in obtaining the release of Hendrik Prinsloo from the custody of Hottentot soldiers.

On the 14th of November Krugel's commando, with the original conspirators—in all numbering about sixty men—marched under Jan Bezuidenhout's command to Captain Andrews' post, and when close to it sent a Hottentot to ask that Hendrik Prinsloo should be surrendered to them. But at daybreak that morning the post had been reinforced by a party of burghers under Commandant Willem Nel, and Major Fraser had arrived with a few dragoons and assumed command. He sent the Hottentot back to say that he wished a burgher to come and speak to him, his

object being to endeavour to induce the infatuated men to proceed no further in their mad enterprise. Nicolaas Prinsloo therefore went to the post, but instead of discussing matters calmly, in threatening language he demanded the release of his brother. This Major Fraser refused.

Bezuidenhout evidently thought that Commandant Nel might be induced to change sides, for he sent to solicit an interview. The commandant accordingly visited the insurgents, when Bezuidenhout desired him to call out the whole of the burghers of Uitenhage, and be guided by their opinion; but Nel declined, and did his utmost to persuade the misguided men to abandon their project. His efforts, however, were useless, and it was with difficulty that he got away, for some of the party wished to detain him by force.

When Nel left, Jan Bezuidenhout formed the insurgents into a ring, and required Willem Krugel, in the name of his commando, to take an oath of fidelity to their cause. The oath was taken, some of Krugel's men raising their hats at the time, and others repeating the word "yes," but some doing neither. A letter was then forwarded to Major Fraser, directing him not to send Prinsloo away from the post, and informing him that they would return within four days. After this the insurgents retired, and some of them proceeded to different parts of the frontier to try to obtain assistance.

On the 17th of November the band marched to Slachter's Nek, near the junction of the Baviaans' and Fish rivers, which had been agreed upon as the place where the different persons who had gone for aid should bring any recruits they could engage.

During the preceding night Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler, landdrost of Uitenhage and military commandant of the frontier, had reached Captain Andrews' post with a reinforcement of troops, and he now opened communication with the infatuated men, with the object of inducing them to surrender. Commandant Nel again went to them and urged them to desist from their mad proceeding, but in vain. The

heemraad Barend de Klerk, a man of exemplary character, went to his brother Theunis de Klerk, and conjured him by their mother, who was then on her deathbed, to abandon the insurgent cause, but to no effect.

On the 18th of November Colonel Cuyler marched to Slachter's Nek with thirty burghers under Commandant Nel and forty dragoons under Major Fraser. When within rifle shot of the insurgent band, the force was halted, and communications were again opened, with a view of preventing bloodshed, but with the same result as before. Preparations for an advance upon the position were then made, but just at that moment several men were seen riding up from the opposite direction and joining Bezuidenhout's party. They were Faber and his associates, from Gaika's kraal, Abraham Botma, from Zwagershoek, and Andries Klopper, from Bruintjes Hoogte, all bringing intelligence of absolute failure. Five of Krugel's men had already abandoned the cause, and secretly returned to their homes; the others for the first time realised the utter hopelessness of resistance. Krugel, exclaiming "in God's name let me go down and receive my punishment," strode towards Nel's commando. He was followed by seventeen others—Nicolaas and Jan Prinsloo, sons of old Marthinus and brothers of the prisoner at Captain Andrews' post, Willem Prinsloo, son of Nicolaas, Joachim, Willem, and Nicolaas Prinsloo, nephews of old Marthinus, Hendrik and Jacobus Klopper, Philip, Christoffel, and Jan Botha, Hendrik and Cornelis van der Nest, Pieter Erasmus, Jan Bronkhorst, Thomas Dreyer, and Adriaan Nel. These all laid down their arms, and were made prisoners, except the second Willem Prinsloo, who was allowed to go free. The others fled in various directions, but fifteen surrendered shortly afterwards, among them Theunis de Klerk.

The most desperate, headed by Jan Bezuidenhout, fled towards Kaffirland. For some days the direction of their flight was not known, but at length it was discovered, and they were then pursued by Commandant Nel with

twenty-two burghers, and Major Fraser with one hundred Hottentots of the Cape corps. On the 29th of November, at the Winterberg, Abraham Botma was surprised and arrested, and Andries Meyer gave himself up. The others were a little farther in advance. A party of Hottentots under Lieutenant McInnes, who was in command owing to Major Fraser having fallen from his horse and broken one of his arms, made a circuit, and posted themselves some distance ahead. Four waggons, containing the families of Jan Bezuidenhout, Cornelis Faber, Stephanus Botma, and Abraham Botma, approached the place where the soldiers were concealed, and outspanned almost within musket shot. As soon as the oxen were loose, Faber, on horseback and armed, and Stephanus Botma, unarmed and on foot, went to a stream close by to get water. Just as they reached it, a band of Hottentot soldiers under Ensign McKay rose up from an ambush only thirty paces distant. Faber turned his horse and set off at full speed, but as the soldiers fired at him, he returned their shot until he was wounded and disabled, when he was seized. Botma was run down and captured.

The soldiers now approached the waggons, and called to Jan Bezuidenhout to surrender. He was an illiterate frontier farmer, whose usual residence was a wattle and daub structure hardly deserving the name of a house, and who knew nothing of refinement after the English town pattern. His code of honour, too, was in some respects different from that of modern Englishmen, but it contained at least one principle common to the noblest minds in all sections of the race to which he belonged: to die rather than do that which is degrading. And for him it would have been unutterably degrading to have surrendered to the pandours. Instead of doing so he fired at them.

His wife, Martha Faber, a true South African countrywoman, in this extremity showed that the Batavian blood had not degenerated by change of clime. She stepped to the side of her husband, and as he discharged one gun loaded another for his use. His son Gerrit Pieter, too, a

boy not quite twelve years of age, took an active part in the skirmish. One Hottentot soldier was killed. Then Bezuidenhout received two severe wounds, from which he died in a few hours, and both his wife and his son were disabled and seized. Ten guns and about forty pounds of powder were found in the waggons.

The prisoners—thirty-nine in number—were sent to Uitenhage for trial. On the 16th of December they were brought before a special commission of the high court of justice, consisting of the judges W. Hiddingh and P. Diemel. Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland was secretary of the court, and Landdrost Cuyler was prosecutor. The prisoners admitted the facts as here related, and the evidence taken was conclusive. On the 22nd of January 1816 judgment was delivered.

All except Martha Faber, widow of Jan Bezuidenhout, were to be conveyed to the place on Van Aardt's farm where Willem Krugel had taken the oath in the name of the men under his command, and there Hendrik Prinsloo, Cornelis Faber, Stephanus Botma, Abraham Botma, Theunis de Klerk, and Willem Krugel were to suffer death by hanging. The remaining thirty-two, after witnessing the execution, were to undergo various punishments, ranging from banishment for life to imprisonment for one month or a fine of fifty rixdollars.

The sentences were in accordance with the letter of the law; but it was generally hoped that the governor would prevent the penalty of death being inflicted, as no blood had actually been shed by any of the prisoners. Banishment would have been equally effective as a warning to others, and it seemed to most people that something was due to the burghers who aided the government, and who were afterwards horrified at the thought that they had helped to pursue their deluded countrymen to death. Lord Charles Somerset, however, considered it his duty "to make examples of the ringleaders, and to remove to another part of the country such of the others as had been most violent or who

had previously been concerned in similar acts of insurrection. With respect to the remainder, he deemed it wiser to consider them as ignorant and deluded men, whom it was his wish to endeavour to civilise rather than his duty to punish with unrelenting severity." On the intercession of Landdrost Cuyler, who represented the services that Krugel had rendered in the last Kaffir war and his uniform good conduct before he permitted himself to be led astray by the leaders of the insurrection, that individual was spared, but the governor's fiat was affixed to the sentences of the other five.

On the 9th of March 1816 they were executed at Captain Andrews' post on Van Aardt's farm. The reverend Mr. Herold, of George, attended them in their last moments. Before ascending the scaffold, they requested to be allowed to sing a hymn with their late companions and friends, and upon permission being granted, their voices were clear and firm. After this, Stephanus Botma—whose ancestor of the same name was the first burgher in South Africa—addressed those present, advising them to be cautious in their behaviour, and take warning from his fate. To outward appearance, they were all perfectly resigned to die. When the drop fell, four of the ropes snapped, and the condemned men rose from the ground unharmed. The people standing round, regarding this as an intervention of God, raised a cry for mercy, which Landdrost Cuyler, who was in command, was powerless to grant. Three hundred soldiers guarded the scaffold, and prevented confusion until all was over.

Among the convicted men was a deserter from the Batavian army, who went by the name of Frans Marais. He was sentenced to be fastened to the gallows with a rope round his neck during the execution of the others, and then to be banished from the colony for life. The governor declined to mitigate this sentence, and it was carried out.

The remaining prisoners were admitted to mercy. Seven of them—Willem Krugel, Adriaan Engelbrecht, Andries Meyer, Nicolaas Prinsloo, son of Marthinus, David Malan, Pieter Prinsloo, son of Nicolaas, and Martha Faber—were banished

for life from the districts of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, and George. Five—Andries van Dyk, Christoffel and Abraham Botha, Pieter Delport, and Theunis Mulder—had the choice of being imprisoned for four months or paying a fine of two hundred rixdollars. One—Hendrik Liebenberg—had the choice of being imprisoned for two months or paying a fine of one hundred rixdollars. Four — Adriaan and Leendert Labuschagne, Barend de Lange, and Gerrit Bezuidenhout—had the choice of being imprisoned for one month or paying a fine of fifty rixdollars. Sixteen — Andries, Hendrik, and Jacobus Klopper, Hendrik and Cornelis van der Nest, Philip and Jan Botha, Willem Prinsloo, son of Nicolaas, Jan Prinsloo, son of Marthinus, Joachim and Nicolaas Prinsloo, nephews of Marthinus, Jan Bronkhorst, Thomas Dreyer, Pieter Erasmus, Adriaan Nel, and Frans van Dyk—were released without other punishment than witnessing the execution of those who were hanged.

Old Marthinus Prinsloo, who had taken a leading part in the "national" movement sixteen years earlier, was still living. Though his sons, nephews, and grandsons were active in the disturbance, he was not implicated in it. Nevertheless the governor directed that the lease of his farm, Naude's River, adjoining the Somerset estate at the Boschberg, should be cancelled, and that he should remove to either of the districts Swellendam or Tulbagh. He was paid three thousand rixdollars for the buildings, and as the farm was well supplied with water, it was added to the ground under Dr. Mackrill's charge.

Those who were banished from the eastern frontier removed with their families to the tract of land named the Gouph, under the Nieuwveld mountains, where they were soon joined by many of their relatives and old associates.

Such is the account of the Slachter's Nek insurrection as given in the official documents of the time, and particularly in the proceedings of the trial of those who took part in it. But tradition, as is always the case among illiterate people, in a very few years caused its leading features to

become strangely distorted, and the execution of the five farmers has down to our own day been regarded in the secluded districts of South Africa as an act of dire oppression. That it was a political mistake time has fully proved. Thirty years after the event Judge Cloete heard from the emigrant farmers in Natal that they "could never forget Slachter's Nek." More than double that period passed away, and Sir Bartle Frere heard the same expression from people north of the Vaal. In public discussions during eighty years it has been constantly referred to as a cruel and unjustifiable stretch of power, and more than any other single occurrence it has kept alive a feeling of hostility to British rule. It may, however, be hoped that as the incontrovertible facts of the event become known, this feeling will cease to operate, and that the capital punishment of the leading insurgents will be attributed, as it should be, to the spirit of the criminal code in England as well as South Africa in the early years of the nineteenth century, which was infinitely harsher than it is to-day.

CHAPTER IX.

LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET—*(continued)*.

THE imprisonment of the vanquished emperor Napoleon at St. Helena had the effect of making that island for several years the headquarters of the naval force on the South African station, so that the movements of His Majesty's ships do not need to be minutely recorded. Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn arrived at St. Helena in the *Northumberland* with the illustrious exile and his suite on the 15th of October 1815, and shortly afterwards Vice Admiral Tyler returned to England with the whole of his squadron. In June 1816 Rear Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm took over the command from Sir George Cockburn, and was in his turn succeeded by Rear Admiral Sir Robert Plampin in June 1817. Rear Admiral Sir Robert Lambert assumed the command in July 1820, and held it at the time of the death of Napoleon, 5th of May 1821.

During these years vessels were detached from St. Helena to cruise off the Cape and Mauritius, as if they had been outstations. The naval arsenal at Simonstown was kept up, however, and ships requiring to be repaired and refitted were sent there for that purpose. Sir Jahleel Brenton had control of the arsenal as naval commissioner. The greater part of the provisions needed at St. Helena were drawn from South Africa, and thus the loss of the market caused by the temporary removal of the naval headquarters was more than made good.

Another effect of the confinement of Napoleon upon St. Helena was the occupation for a short time of the island of Tristan da Cunha by troops sent from the Cape garrison.

During the war of 1812-1814 between Great Britain and the United States of America, privateers cruising against British commerce off the Cape of Good Hope were in the habit of refitting at Tristan da Cunha, and were thereby enabled to keep the seas, though this was not suspected by the English authorities until the conclusion of peace. They caused much loss of merchant shipping, and a corvette that was stationed there for three months even succeeded in capturing the sloop of war *Penguin*. To provide against the island being used again for such a purpose, Lord Charles Somerset proposed to the secretary of state that it should be occupied by a small British garrison.

It was not with this object, however, but to prevent Tristan da Cunha being used as a base of operations for the rescue of Napoleon from St. Helena, that in September 1815 Lord Bathurst directed the governor to place a garrison upon the island, which he stated had always been regarded as a dependency of the Cape government. This supposition was incorrect. In 1696 a little vessel named the *Geelvink* was sent from Holland to examine the islands, and she brought to the Cape a report that they were three in number, difficult of access and barren in appearance, though grass, trees, other vegetable productions, and vast numbers of sea-birds so tame that they could be captured by hand, were found upon them. They were out of the track of commerce, however, and therefore were not occupied by the Dutch.

In December 1810 a mariner named Jonathan Lambert, of Salem in Massachusetts, with two associates—Andrew Millet and Thomas Currie—settled on the principal island, which was frequently visited by whaling ships. On the 4th of February 1811 he drew up a document in which he constituted himself sovereign proprietor, hoisted an independent flag, and announced that he was desirous of supplying refreshments to ships of all nations, and trading peacefully with them. This document he caused to be published in a Boston newspaper. His flag remained unmolested until his

death, and is now in the Public Record Office in London. In May 1812 Lambert and Millet were drowned when out fishing; but Currie, who was a native of Leghorn, though his father was an Irishman, was shortly afterwards joined by two men named John Tankard and John Talsen. In 1815 it was reported at the Cape that these persons were in possession of abundance of vegetables, grain, and pigs, and expressed discontent only because they were without female companions.

In July 1816, before the instructions of the secretary of state could be carried out by Lord Charles Somerset, Rear Admiral Malcolm sent Captain Festing in the ship of war *Falmouth* to take possession of Tristan da Cunha and leave a lieutenant named Rice and a party of seamen there. The *Falmouth* was then to proceed to the Cape, to take on board such soldiers and stores as the governor might deem requisite, convey them to the island, and return to St. Helena. On the 14th of August 1816 Captain Festing took formal possession for Great Britain of Tristan da Cunha and the two smaller islands Inaccessible and Nightingale, and landed the party of occupation. The only persons found there were Thomas Currie and a boy named Bastiano Ponza, who had been several months a resident. What had become of Tankard and Talsen cannot be ascertained.

Lord Charles Somerset selected Captain Josias Cloete, of the 21st light dragoons, as commandant of the new possession, and sent him in the *Falmouth* with a mixed party to hold Tristan da Cunha and cultivate it. A variety of domestic animals for breeding purposes, some draft oxen, an assortment of seeds and farm implements, and an ample supply of tents and stores were provided. After a very stormy passage of four weeks, during which all the horned cattle and most of the pigs and poultry perished, on the 28th of November 1816 Captain Cloete reached his destination. When landing, much of the seed was destroyed and part of the stores was damaged by the swamping of the

boats in the surf. Fortunately, however, no lives were lost. The *Falmouth's* men were then embarked, except six sailors who remained to form a boat's crew, and Captain Cloete commenced to construct fortifications and make a garden. Currie had already between five and six acres of ground under cultivation, and his right of proprietorship of his land was fully recognised. The boy Ponza was taken into the commandant's service. The whole population of the island now consisted of fifty men, of whom five were officers and six were Hottentots, ten women, and twelve children.

But the occupation lasted only a few months. Sir George Cockburn expressed an opinion that Tristan da Cunha could not be made use of for the rescue of Napoleon, and Earl Bathurst thereupon resolved to withdraw the garrison. Rear Admiral Plampin, who was ready to sail from England in the *Conqueror*, was directed to proceed to the island and convey the troops to the Cape, and in May 1817 Captain Cloete and his party, except a lieutenant, a surgeon, and a few artillerymen, who could not be accommodated on board, were taken away. In August 1817 Lord Bathurst informed the governor that if the Cape treasury could bear the expense, he had no objection to the small party still on the island remaining there; but as retrenchment was then being carried out on a severe scale, Lord Charles Somerset did not avail himself of this permission.

The *Eurydice* was sent for the troops, and took away the whole of the inhabitants of the island except William Glass, a discharged corporal of the royal artillery, his wife, and two masons named Samuel Burnell and John Nankivel, who had been in the government service. These persons preferred to remain where existence was comparatively easy rather than return again to England or South Africa. Some cattle, which had been sent from the Cape not long before, were given to them, as well as various implements and some provisions.

Two small cruisers were sent to Tristan da Cunha to remove the stores. On the 2nd of October 1817 one of them, the brig *Julia*, was driven on shore in a perfect calm by the sudden rising of a heavy sea, and was lost with fifty-five of her crew. The other, the *Griffon*, arrived two days later, and conveyed the survivors of the *Julia* and the stores to St. Helena. Since this date the three islands, though left without a garrison, have been considered British possessions, and the principal one has been occupied by a few families whose intercourse with the outer world is confined to an occasional calling ship.

At this time three new magistracies were created in the colony, and the jurisdiction of the court in Capetown was enlarged.

On the 24th of May 1814 that portion of the Cape peninsula south of a line from Muizenburg to Noordhoek was formed into a district named Simonstown. Mr. Jan Hendrik Brand, previously deputy fiscal, was directed to carry out the duties of a landdrost, though he had only the title of resident. Heemraden, however, were not appointed until October 1824. The district was divided into two fieldcornetcies, and the town into two wards, each under a wardmaster with the same powers and duties as those in Capetown. A customhouse was now established in Simonstown, and a good road to Capetown was made at a cost of over £16,000.

On the 5th of April 1816 the jurisdiction of the court of landdrost and heemraden of the Cape district was enlarged so that thereafter they could decide finally in civil cases wherein the matter in dispute did not exceed three hundred rixdollars.

The northern border of the colony had always been occupied by people of nomadic habits, and the settlement in the Gouph of those persons who were banished from the Kaffir frontier after the Slachter's Nek insurrection had caused a spirit of lawlessness to prevail among them. Beyond them was the great plain over which a few

Bushmen roamed, stretching away to the Orange river. Then came the territory occupied by the Griquas, where utter anarchy was prevalent. Most of the Griquas had broken away from the teaching of the reverend Mr. Anderson,—who remained at his post almost at the peril of his life,—and had placed themselves under the leadership of the notorious renegade from civilisation, Coenraad du Buis. This man had become a freebooter, and at the head of a band of Griqua ruffians was engaged in making frequent raids upon the Betshuana tribes and plundering their cattle. Fugitive slaves and other coloured people were attracted to a territory that was beyond the reach of law, and a contraband trade in firearms and gunpowder was carried on with unprincipled men in the colony.

To put an end to this state of things, on the 27th of November 1818 a sub-district named Beaufort was formed out of portions of Graaff-Reinet and Tulbagh and a tract of land beyond the Zak river. The northern boundary of the colony as defined by the Batavian administration was not at this time respected, and no other had been proclaimed. In practice, the boundary was regarded as the last occupied farms. From this line Beaufort extended southward to the Zwartebergen, and from the Pramberg and Kareiga river on the east to the Dwika river on the west. It was divided into ten fieldcornetcies. Mr. John Baird, once a lieutenant in the Cape regiment and more recently assistant to Mr. Hart at the Somerset farm, was appointed deputy landdrost, and commenced duty as such on the 19th of December.

A site for the courthouse had previously been selected by Messrs. Fischer and Stockenstrom, landdrosts of Tulbagh and Graaff-Reinet. It was a farm named Hooivlakte, close to the Nieuwveld mountains, and was then occupied by Commandant Abraham de Klerk. The buildings on this farm and another named Bosjesmansberg were purchased from De Klerk for 13,333 rixdollars, the leases were cancelled, and a village, named Beaufort West, was laid

out on Hooivlakte. Beaufort was declared to be a sub-district of Graaff-Reinet, but Mr. Baird was placed in a more independent position than other deputy landdrosts. The judges of the circuit court were directed to hold sessions at the new village on their progress through the colony, and a full staff of minor officials was appointed.

To induce wandering coloured people to settle within the colony instead of migrating to the territory north of the Orange river, a tract of land named Kookfontein was set apart as a reserve for their use, where teachers could give them instruction in religion and in useful occupations under direction of the clergyman of Beaufort. And to check the illicit traffic that had been carried on, a periodical fair was established at Kookfontein, where the Griquas could obtain such useful articles as they needed in exchange for the produce of the chase in the north.

It was regrettable that some of the missionaries of the London society were constantly poisoning the minds of people in Great Britain by sensational reports of the misconduct of the colonists, attributing to the whole people the misdeeds of a few who were far removed from churches and lawcourts, and grossly exaggerating trivial offences, in the belief that such statements were necessary to create interest in their work. But other agents of the same society, generally speaking the more highly educated among them, disapproved of such conduct, which they regarded as sinful, and endeavoured to put before their countrymen at home the true state of affairs. They were not successful in obtaining credence, and then, feeling that they could not conscientiously remain longer connected with the society under whose auspices they had commenced their labours in South Africa, at different times eight of them left it.*

Among these was the reverend John Taylor, a clergyman of the established church of Scotland, and a man of zeal and ability. After he had severed his connection with the

*See dispatch from Lord Charles Somerset to Earl Bathurst of 30th June 1819, page 242 of vol. xii *Records of the Cape Colony.*

London society Lord Charles Somerset proposed to him that as a government agent he should undertake mission work among both whites and blacks in the new sub-district, and reside at Beaufort West, though specially directing and superintending the establishment at Kookfontein. Mr. Taylor accepted the offer, and his services proved of great value. A little later, as his Scotch credentials satisfied the clergy in Capetown, he was appointed minister of the Dutch reformed church of Beaufort West, where on the 16th of May 1820 a new congregation was formed by the governor's approval of elders and deacons nominated by the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet.

In March 1819 Lord Charles Somerset purchased the buildings on two loan farms named Langerug and Roodedraai in the valley of the Breede river, for about £3,750, and on the 20th of October in the same year stationed Mr. Jan Frederik van de Graaff there as deputy landdrost of Tulbagh, with the same powers and duties as the officers holding similar situations at Clanwilliam, Caledon, Grahamstown, and Cradock. On the farms thus obtained the governor resolved to found a village, and a better position could hardly have been chosen. It is on a plain with just sufficient slope for drainage, and it has an abundant supply of good water from the Hex river. The great road down the valley goes through it, the road up the pass of the Hex river into the Karoo commences here, and in 1819 it had just been discovered that a road through the Drakenstein mountains could be made by way of the French Hoek pass, which would be almost a straight line from Capetown. These advantages were enhanced by the fertility of the country in the neighbourhood, and, in Lord Charles Somerset's eyes, by the fine mountain scenery which closed the view in every direction.

The site having been selected, one hundred and forty-four erven, each two-thirds of a morgen in size, were laid out in twenty-four blocks, with broad streets between them. The first sale took place on the 28th of February 1820, when

eighty-nine erven were purchased at public auction. The governor named the village Worcester, from his elder brother's title.

In the following year a congregation of the Dutch reformed church was formed, with this place as its centre. Elders and deacons were nominated by the landdrost, and confirmed by the head of the government on the 25th of January 1821. The reverend Mr. Kicherer, of Tulbagh, then became consulent, and visited Worcester every three months until the 18th of September 1824, when the reverend Henry Sutherland, the first resident clergyman, commenced his duties.

In 1816 it was ascertained that the mouth of the Breede river could be entered by small vessels in fine weather, and that above the bar the stream was navigable for more than thirty miles by cutters drawing only five or six feet of water. A coasting trade with Capetown was commenced, in which two small vessels were constantly employed. Lord Charles Somerset, who was rapidly covering the map of the colony with the titles of his family, gave the mouth of the river the name Port Beaufort. The outer anchorage is still known as St. Sebastian's Bay, the name attached to it by Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello in 1576.*

In 1817 the Knysna was opened to shipping. A stream of no great length here emerges from a dense forest, expands into a large sheet of water resembling a lake, and then enters the sea through a narrow cleft in the wall of rock that forms the coast. The passage is deep enough to admit large vessels, but unless the wind is blowing directly in or directly out it is calm between the heads, where often a heavy surf is rolling. When inside, a vessel is perfectly sheltered, and can sail several miles up a deep channel between islands and anchor off open ground to the eastward.

* On this part of the South African coast a pearl oyster abounds, undistinguishable from that of Ceylon. Many valuable pearls have been found in the vicinity of St. Sebastian's Bay.

The exceeding beauty of the scenery charmed those who first saw it, and before the close of the eighteenth century several farms were occupied along or near the sheet of water. One of these, called Melkhoutkraal, acquired the reputation among visitors of being more like fairyland than like an ordinary South African cattle run. It was difficult of access, for no sail had yet appeared within the heads, and the forest land around was extremely rugged. Still, many persons of note found their way to it. Among others was a gentleman named George Rex, who filled a lucrative office in the vice-admiralty court during the first British occupation, and who had been living in retirement since the restoration of the colony to the Batavian Republic, though he was a registered notary.

Like everyone else who visited the Knysna, this gentleman became enamoured with its scenery; and as he had ample means at his disposal, he resolved to purchase the rights of the various residents, and make himself a home on an estate that would be second to none in the colony. The ground was held under the old tenure of yearly lease, and the several occupiers were ready to sell their claims and improvements. Mr. Rex bought them out, and on the 30th of November 1816 the farms Melkhoutkraal, Eastford, Westford, Portland, and Springfield, comprising together nearly ten thousand morgen of ground, were transferred to him by the government under the tenure recently introduced by Sir John Cradock, the quitrent for the whole being fixed at one hundred and sixty-five rixdollars a year. In the fifth clause of Sir John Cradock's proclamation the government retained the right to resume possession of twenty morgen on each quitrent farm adjoining the sea or any tidal water, provided it was needed for public purposes. Beyond this, the only ground reserved on the five farms was one morgen on the shore for a pilot's residence, if it should ever be needed, and just above it a little circle at the top of the eastern head for a flagstaff. Mr. Rex then introduced labourers, and carried out his plans until the artificial

beauties of Melkhoutkraal were nearly as great as the natural ones.

During the first British occupation a gentleman named James Callender was sent by the government to examine the Knysna, and particularly to ascertain whether it was accessible for vessels of small burden and whether suitable timber for shipbuilding could be obtained in the forests. An experienced ship's carpenter accompanied him for the purpose of testing the various kinds of wood. A collection of samples of many species of timber was made, and a short description of the trees in the forest was prepared. Mr. Callender's opinion of the sheet of water as a harbour for shipping was so favourable that when the colony fell again into British hands the admiral on the station resolved to ascertain by experiment whether a vessel could enter it or not. In May 1808 the brig *Staunch* was sent for the purpose, but on her arrival at the bar such a heavy sea was found breaking on it that her captain would not venture to attempt to cross, but proceeded to Plettenberg's Bay, where he took in some timber. During the next nine years the timber needed for the naval yard at Simonstown was obtained from Plettenberg's Bay.

In 1817 Sir Jahleel Brenton, commissioner for the admiralty,—from whom the western shore received its name,—visited the Knysna, and became convinced that timber for the royal navy could be procured and shipped there to great advantage. As an experiment he arranged with some woodcutters to prepare a quantity, and then sent the brig *Emu* to convey it to Simon's Bay. In trying to enter, this vessel met a head wind in the narrows, and was driven upon a sunken rock, when she sustained so much damage that it was necessary to run her on the Brenton beach. The sloop-of-war *Podargus* was then sent to bring away the crew and stores of the *Emu* by means of her boats. In May 1817 she arrived off the heads, and finding the entrance smooth and the wind fair, she sailed in and anchored safely. Captain Wallis, who was

in command, caused a survey to be made, and sent in a very favourable report upon the harbour.

After this date shipments of timber were frequently made at the Knysna for the naval arsenal in Simonstown, and on several occasions for the dockyards in England. A coasting trade also sprang up with Table Bay. The place now came to be regarded as of such consequence that in February 1818 Lord Charles Somerset appointed a skilful seaman named John Gough pilot, and stationed him at the entrance with a boat and crew to take vessels in and out.

Sir Jahleel Brenton next thought of making an experiment in shipbuilding, and an arrangement was concluded with Mr. Rex that for this purpose he should cede forty morgen of ground in one block along the shore of the inlet, in consideration of the government giving up its right to resume possession of twenty morgen on each of his five farms. The ground selected by the admiral's agent was on Eastford, and was named Melville.

In July 1820 a foreman, three shipwrights, and ten labourers were sent from the naval establishment at Simonstown to build a brig. They constructed a slip some distance farther up the inlet than the boundary of Melville, and then commenced to frame the hull. But the cost was found to be far greater than had been anticipated, and some damage was sustained by an accidental fire, so the experiment was abandoned. In January 1822 the transport *Borodino* was sent to the Knysna for the workmen, when the frame was taken to pieces and the materials were removed to Simonstown.

Three years after the experiment in shipbuilding was abandoned, Lord Charles Somerset thought of founding a village on Melville, but for a long time circumstances were adverse to the realisation of the project. Commodore Christian was then in command on the South African station, and he offered no objection, provided sufficient ground was reserved for the admiralty in case it might be needed again. Mr. Rex cordially supported the project,

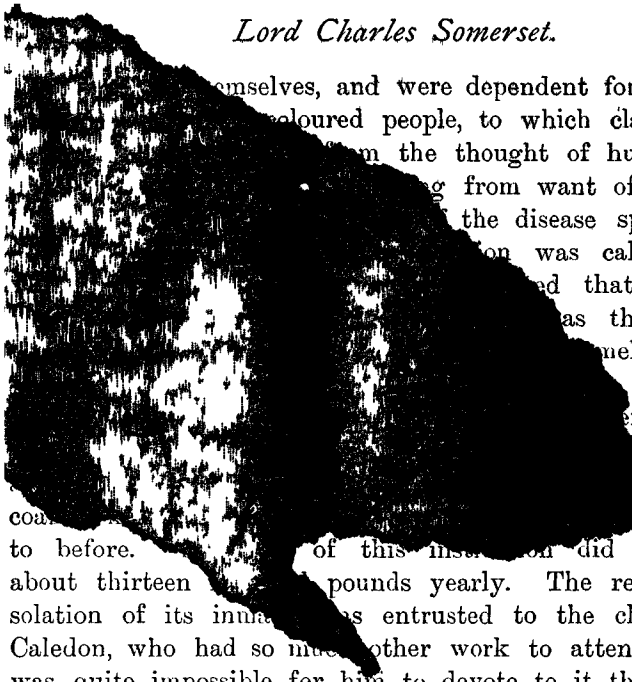
and gave the government for a commonage ninety-five morgen of ground adjoining Melville, which, however, was not formally transferred until after his death many years later. Ten erven on the lower side of the present main street were then surveyed, and in 1826 individuals were allowed to occupy them, though no titles were issued, because the new commodore on the station put in a claim to the whole of the ground as really intended in the first instance to be a grant to the admiralty.

After much negotiation this claim was admitted by the colonial government, and on the 22nd of May 1832 Melville was legally ceded to the naval authorities, without any reservation of the occupied erven, though it was understood that anyone who had built a house would not be disturbed. The growth of the hamlet was thus effectually checked.

The timber sent to the English dockyards was found less serviceable than oak, and consequently it was not in demand. The rugged nature of the surrounding country prevented easy intercourse with other parts of the colony, but the coasting trade in waggon wood and planks increased with Capetown, and thus a demand arose for ground on which to build houses and stores.

After long correspondence and references backward and forward, an arrangement was at length arrived at, which enabled the government to dispose of building allotments and check the squatting which was becoming common. In May 1844 the admiralty consented to retransfer Melville in exchange for a portion of the commonage, including that part along the shore on which the slip constructed in 1820 was still standing. It was only after that date, therefore, that the hamlet grew to the dimensions of a village.

Nothing had ever yet been done to relieve the most miserable of living creatures in South Africa, those unfortunate people who were afflicted with the dreadful disease of leprosy. They were to be found scattered over all parts of the colony, but chiefly in the fishing hamlets along the coast. In some instances they were quite unable to do



nselves, and were dependent for food upon
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about thirteen pounds yearly. The religious consolation of its inm s entrusted to the clergyman of Caledon, who had so m other work to attend to that it was quite impossible for him to devote to it the time that was needed.

The attention of the Moravians at Genadendal was then drawn towards the poor creatures at Hem en Aarde, but for some time the missionaries were too in number to do more than keep up the work they ady had in hand. As soon as a brother could be spared, however, that post was assigned to him, and at the beginning of 1823 the reverend Mr. Leitner with his wife went to reside at the asylum. Religious instruction, as everywhere with these excellent men, was accompanied with the example of industry, though naturally here the only object in view was to create some healthy occupation for the minds of the sufferers. That their misery was lessened thereby was the universal testimony of those who afterwards visited the place.

The village of Uitenhage was now provided with a clergyman. On the 19th of June 1816 elders nominated by the landdrost were approved by the governor, and in

March 1817 the reverend Cornelis Mol, a
just returned from studying in Euro
as minister.

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established church of Scot
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At a little later date a new "cor
of this church
was formed at a place near the
False Bay," where
the clergyman of Stellenbosch
long been in the habit
of holding periodical services. The farmers in that neighbourhood, having resolved to erect a place of worship, appointed four of their number to carry out the plan, and on the 29th
ay 1818 a portion of the estate Cloetenburg, that had be
urchased from Mr. Douwe Gerbrand Steyn, was transfe
to this committee. A building was erected, and on the 13th of February 1820 was opened for use. A congregation distinct from that at Stellenbosch was formed here on the 10th of August 1819, by the governor's approval of elders and deacons nominated by the landdrost. Early in 1822 a village was laid out, which received the name Somerset West, and in July of that year the reverend J. Spyker, who since June 1817 had been stationed at Swellendam, was appointed clergyman of the parish.

Another Scotch clergyman who became minister of a colonial congregation at this time was the reverend George Thom, a man of more than common ability, and an active promoter of education among the Europeans as well as of religious teaching among the coloured people. In May 1818

the reverend Michiel Christiaan Vos, clergyman of Caledon, one of the most zealous workers for the good of whites and blacks alike that the Dutch reformed church has ever produced, was obliged to retire on account of the infirmities of old age. It would have been difficult to find a suitable successor had not Mr. Thom about the same time felt himself compelled to leave the service of the London missionary society, in which he had previously been engaged. The government then made overtures to him, which he accepted, and in November 1818 he became minister of the Dutch reformed congregation of Caledon. There already Scotch influence was beginning to be felt in the colonial church.

The English episcopal church had as yet but two congregations in South Africa. Dr. Robert Jones, the civil chaplain in Capetown, resigned in February 1817, and was succeeded by the reverend George Hough, previously stationed at Simonstown. His congregation had no building of its own, but had the use of the Dutch church for the performance of its services. In October 1818 the reverend Thomas Erskine became chaplain at Simonstown, but in the following year he resigned, and in September 1819 was succeeded by the reverend George Sturt. There was already a church edifice here, known as St. George's.

There was still but one Lutheran congregation in the colony, that in Capetown. In June 1817 the reverend F. R. Kaufmann became its pastor, in succession to Mr. Hesse, who returned to Europe.

In 1815 Lord Charles Somerset encouraged the Moravian brethren at Genadendal by adding three thousand six hundred and twelve morgen to their grounds, and in June 1816 he granted them a tract of land on the Witte river—a tributary of the Sunday—where they established a new station, which they named Enon, for the benefit of the Hottentots of the eastern part of the colony. This station was abandoned and destroyed in the war of 1819, but upon the restoration of peace it was occupied again.

The London society founded no new stations within the colony during this period. The evangelist Williams, who settled on the Kat river, died in August 1818, and shortly afterwards Gaika applied for another missionary to be stationed with him. The chief did not indeed appreciate the value of Christian teaching, but the residence of a respectable white man near his kraal and under his protection he thought would add to his dignity and safety. Lord Charles Somerset considered it advisable that a missionary should be appointed by government, and be its agent, and in December 1818 he made overtures to the reverend John Brownlee, previously of the London society, to fill the post. Mr. Brownlee accepted the offer, but owing to the war he was unable to settle in Kaffirland before June 1820. He then took up his residence in the upper part of the Tyumie valley, and gathered a few Gonaquas and Xosas about him. The governor desired that he should have an associate, and it was expected for some time that the reverend Robert Moffat would join him, but Mr. Moffat chose to remain an agent of the London society and to pursue his labours in another part of South Africa.

The Wesleyan society commenced mission work in South Africa at this time. In 1814 one of its agents, the reverend John McKenny, arrived in Capetown, and began to preach to some soldiers of his way of thinking. Lord Charles Somerset disapproved of this as being an interference with the duties of the military chaplain, and because he thought the Dutch clergy would object to the establishment of another denomination in Capetown, as they had done in the time of Earl Caledon. Mr. McKenny was then directed not to officiate as a clergyman in the town, but was informed that he was at liberty to preach to the heathen in the interior. This he regarded as an infringement of his rights, though he did not venture to disobey the governor's order. The society brought the matter before Earl Bathurst, when it was arranged that Mr. McKenny should be recalled, but that no obstruction should be placed in the way of any Wesleyan missionary sent to the heathen, and that in the

case of professing Christians the toleration act of England should be regarded as of force in South Africa. The reverend Barnabas Shaw was then sent out, who arrived at Capetown in April 1816, and shortly afterwards founded a station among the Hottentots at Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand. After this date it was more than once announced in official documents that "the law of the colony gave to all denominations of Christians without distinction similar rights and equal privileges."

According to the census of 1819, the population of the colony consisted of forty-two thousand two hundred and seventeen white people of all ages, thirty-one thousand six hundred and ninety-six slaves, twenty-four thousand four hundred and thirty-three Hottentots, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three free blacks, and one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight negro apprentices taken out of captured slave-ships.

Of late years several changes had taken place in the method of administering justice, and by a notice of the high court, which received the governor's approval on the 4th of December 1819, these were now legalised. The powers of the courts of landdrost and heemraden of the country districts were enlarged in criminal cases, so that they could sentence offenders to be scourged, to be imprisoned, or to be banished for short periods. The district secretaries acted as public prosecutors in these courts, and the landdrost and two heemraden formed a quorum.

Cases of a more serious nature were tried by the circuit court of two judges, but if on investigation it was evident that the penalty would be death, the accused was brought before the high court in Capetown, which consisted of the chief justice and six judges. The landdrosts acted as public prosecutors in the circuit court, and the fiscal in the high court of justice.

In Capetown two judges sat daily to try such cases as came before the landdrosts and heemraden in the country districts. Whenever it was deemed advisable by the fiscal, prisoners not charged with capital offences were sent to Capetown from any

part of the colony to be tried by a court consisting of the chief justice and four judges, in which an advocate appointed by the landdrost of the district in which the crime was committed acted as prosecutor.

The ill-health of his eldest daughter necessitated Lord Charles Somerset's visiting England, and in 1818 he requested leave of absence from the colony. This was granted by the secretary of state, and an arrangement was made for carrying on the government during his absence. In 1816, when the garrison was reduced and retrenchment in the administration was being effected, the office of lieutenant-governor was abolished, and General Meade, who had held it, was replaced in his military capacity by a man of much lower rank. To provide for carrying on the government by an officer of position during Lord Charles Somerset's absence, Major-General Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, who happened to be returning from India at the time, was directed to assume the administration, with the title of acting governor. On the 12th of January 1820 he took the oaths of office. In the evening of the same day Lord Charles Somerset embarked in the ship-of-war *Sappho*, and on the 13th set sail for England.

CHAPTER X.

DEALINGS WITH THE XOSAS FROM 1813 TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF 1819.

ATHOUGH there was a double line of military posts along the eastern border, bands of Xosas managed to make their way into the colony and plunder the farmers. To such an extent was this carried on, that in the neighbourhood of one of the posts during the four weeks ending on the 20th of November 1813 over a thousand head of cattle were swept off and five farm servants were murdered. Sir John Cradock, who was on the frontier at the time, felt himself compelled to send an armed force into Kaffirland to punish the marauders. Lieutenant-Colonel Vicars, who was then in command of the troops on the border, received the governor's instructions to "try to do something that would prove to the savages and unceasing robbers that His Majesty's government would no longer be trifled with or suffer the property of the colonists to be destroyed." An armed force was therefore to cross the Fish river, and demand restitution of the stolen cattle. If the demand was not complied with, the kraals were to be destroyed, but not an article was to be removed and the old, infirm, women, and children were not to be molested. The Xosas were to be given plainly to understand that the object was not plunder, but punishment; that the government was determined to maintain the boundary; that white men would not be allowed to cross the Fish river without leave, nor would Kaffirs be permitted to enter colonial territory without regular authority from some acknowledged chief; and that any Kaffir marauder found in the colony would be punished with death.

A commando of five hundred farmers was assembled, but when everything was in readiness Colonel Vicars fell ill, and was obliged to remain at Captain Andrews' post. The command then fell to Captain Fraser. The advanced line was strengthened to provide against a rush of Kaffirs into the colony, and on the 2nd of December 1813 Captain Fraser with a mixed force of burghers and men of the Cape regiment crossed the border. The Kaffirs fled to mountain strongholds, and the country seemed to be abandoned, but after advancing some distance the commando was joined by seven men, whom Captain Fraser sent to Gaika with a demand that all the horses, stolen cattle, and firearms in his territory should be given up. They did not return, but on the following day seven others made their appearance, and were taken with the colonial force as prisoners that they might report all occurrences to their chiefs. One of them was shot subsequently when attempting to make his escape.

On the evening of the 4th Captain Fraser reached the Kat river, and next morning collected some two or three thousand head of cattle that had been driven into the thickets. From these he selected all that had brand-marks, and let the others go. He did the same at one of Gaika's outposts and at the abandoned kraals of some other chiefs, nowhere taking any but marked colonial cattle, and not destroying huts or property of any kind. The Kaffirs always fled as he approached, but two were shot. On the 7th the six prisoners were released, and the commando crossed the border again, with about one hundred and forty head of colonial cattle that had been recovered.

For a short time the authorities hoped that the Kaffirs would be intimidated by the knowledge that their country was open to invasion of this kind, but no such effect was produced on their minds. Seeing that only brand-marked cattle were taken, they concluded that to escape punishment it was only necessary to use greater care to slaughter stolen oxen at once or to drive them to a distance and exchange them for others.

Sir John Cradock tried to induce a tolerably dense population to settle in the Zuurveld. His plan was to give to suitable persons comparatively small farms in the neighbourhood of the military posts at a very moderate quitrent, and he offered to remit the quitrent altogether for ten years to the first fifty applicants. One hundred and forty-five families accepted the offer, but they soon found that it was impossible to carry on agricultural or pastoral operations with any chance of success. A return made for the government early in 1817 shows that ninety of these families had been compelled to abandon the district, and that within eighteen months three thousand six hundred head of cattle had been stolen.

Lord Charles Somerset then resolved to visit the frontier, and endeavour to put matters on a better footing. He sent an invitation to all the border captains to meet him and try to come to a friendly arrangement, assuring them that his sole aim was to preserve peace. On the 29th of March 1817 he was at the Somerset farm, and from that place he issued instructions to the landdrost, deputy landdrost, and heemraden of Uitenhage, requiring them to use every endeavour to induce the former occupants of land in the Zuurveld to return, and offering grants to others on tenure of personal residence and a very low quitrent after an occupation of ten years. With a strong military and burgher guard the governor, accompanied by the deputy colonial secretary Colonel Bird and an imposing staff, then entered the Kaffir country, and on the 2nd of April at the Kat river, about a mile above the site of the present village of Fort Beaufort, had an interview with the principal chiefs of the Xosa clans west of the Kei.

It was with difficulty that Gaika could be induced to appear at the appointed place, but he was at length persuaded by Major Fraser and the landdrosts Cuyler and Stockenstrom, with whom he was acquainted. He was attended by an armed guard of three hundred men. His son Makoma (correct Kaffir spelling Maqoma) was with

him, and a good many petty captains and councillors of his clan were in his train. His rival Ndlambe was present, as also the captains Botumane, Eno (correctly Nqeno), Jalusa, and several others.

Gaika stated that he had always endeavoured to prevent the depredations that were carried on, and had succeeded with his own retainers, but he had no power over the other clans, as they would not submit to his authority.

The governor replied that he would not acknowledge or treat with any of the other chiefs.

Gaika then promised to do his utmost to suppress the cattle thefts, and engaged to punish detected thieves with death.

A formal agreement was made that persons from whom cattle were stolen should be at liberty to follow the spoor into Kaffirland, and upon tracing it to a kraal, the people of that kraal should make good the damage. This is the ordinary Kaffir law, which makes a community responsible for the acts of the individuals composing it, and cannot be considered unjust when applied to people in their condition.

It was further agreed that twice a year a party of Xosas might proceed to Grahamstown to trade with such articles as their country produced. They were to enter the colony by De Bruin's drift, where there was a military post, and were there to be provided with an escort. They were not to leave the main road, and could only remain two days in Grahamstown. A badge was given by the governor to Gaika, which the trading parties would be obliged to show to the officer commanding the post, and none would be allowed to pass without it.

At the conference Ndlambe made no open opposition to this agreement. Lord Charles Somerset, indeed, asserted afterwards that he was a consenting party to it; but he certainly did not express his approval from a free heart. Just at this time his fortunes were at a low ebb, and he was obliged to conceal his sentiments; but his hostility towards Gaika was as strong as ever.

In June 1816 a mission station had been formed at the Kat river, about two miles above the present village of Fort Beaufort, by a party of people from Bethelsdorp. The reverend Mr. Read, after visiting various chiefs, selected a site for the station, which was then occupied by an evangelist named Joseph Williams, with his wife and child, Jan Tshatshu, son of the Amantinde captain, with his wife, and six Hottentot families. The missionary was present at the conference. He was an uneducated, but well-meaning and zealous man. The governor requested Gaika to protect him, and recommended the chief to listen to his instructions in religious matters.

Upon his return to the colonial side of the border Lord Charles Somerset rearranged the military posts that had been established by Sir John Cradock. Fourteen stations were occupied along the Fish river, and twelve, with smaller garrisons, at various positions in the rear. Dragoons, who formed a considerable part of the protecting force, were constantly to patrol from post to post, and Hottentot soldiers, who were exceedingly expert in tracing the footmarks of cattle, were to be similarly employed. The remainder of the garrisons was composed of European infantry, the whole force thus occupied in guarding the frontier consisting of forty-two officers and one thousand and sixty-two non-commissioned officers and privates. The strictest injunctions were issued that colonists were to be prevented from taking the law into their own hands and crossing the border to make reprisals for losses by theft, as had occurred on several occasions. A prominent feature of Lord Charles Somerset's arrangement was the establishment of signal stations over the country between the Sunday and Fish rivers, by means of which intelligence of roving bands being at any place could be conveyed to the military posts.

On the 28th of April 1817, less than a month from the conclusion of the agreement with Gaika, notice was given to the officer commanding at Grahamstown that a party of Xosas had driven off nineteen oxen belonging to some

Hottentots in the colony. Lieutenant Vereker, of the 83rd regiment, with one hundred men, was immediately sent in pursuit of the marauders. The spoor of the cattle was easily traced to the kraal of the Imidange captain Habana, who had not attended the conference with the governor. Lieutenant Vereker gave the chief till the next morning to decide whether he would restore the stolen cattle, and in the meantime as security took possession of the same number of oxen belonging to the kraal. When morning dawned, the lieutenant found the heights around him covered with Kaffirs in a hostile attitude, and received from Habana a peremptory refusal of restitution. He therefore left the kraal to return to Grahamstown with the cattle he had taken possession of. He was followed by the Kaffirs, but not molested until he reached a narrow pass in the valley of the Kat river, where Habana's people rushed with great impetuosity upon the troops, shouting and hurling their assagais, by which three men were wounded. The soldiers fired in return, when five Kaffirs were killed and many others wounded. Those who were untouched fled in every direction. Lieutenant Vereker was not again molested, and he reached Grahamstown with the nineteen head of cattle, which were given to the Hottentots who had been plundered.

This event showed that the recent arrangement would not prevent stocklifting. Gaika, however, professed to abide by it, and on the 25th of May his interpreter—Hendrik Nutka by name—arrived at Grahamstown with fifty-three horses which he had recovered, and brought a promise of more.

This gave the governor hope that matters would improve in future, but all his expectations were thwarted by the necessity the imperial authorities were under of checking expenditure in every possible way, and among others by reducing the garrison in South Africa. In January 1816 the military force consisted of 324 artillery-men, the 21st light dragoons, 1,000 strong, the 83rd regiment of the line, rather over 900 strong, the first battalion of

the 60th, over 1,000 strong, and the Hottentot regiment of 800 men. To these were added in February the first battalion of the 72nd, over 800 strong, which arrived from India. In June 1817 the dragoon regiment, far the most useful body of troops in the country, was sent to India, leaving South Africa without cavalry, in the following month nearly all the artillerymen were removed, in September the 83rd left for Ceylon, and in the same month the old Hottentot regiment was disbanded. The only compensation for the loss of all these troops was the arrival in July 1817 of the Royal African Corps, rather over 400 strong, and the enrolment in September of a new regiment of Hottentots and mixed breeds, called the Cape Corps. This corps consisted of 78 cavalry and 169 infantry, and was commanded by Major George Sackville Fraser, with five other commissioned officers.

It was not only in the reduction of the number, but also in the quality of the troops, that the strength of the garrison was affected. The 60th regiment was composed of foreigners and captured deserters, mostly men of bad character. Its strength was constantly fluctuating, as men became entitled to their discharge and other military criminals were sent out to replace them. The Royal African Corps was also a regiment of evil reputation. It had been serving in the captured French possessions on the West African coast, and when these were restored to France it was sent to the Cape to replace the troops withdrawn from the frontier. Crime was so prevalent among the men of these two regiments that Lord Charles Somerset represented the country as in danger, and implored that they might be replaced by better troops.

The disbanding of the old Cape regiment, which took place at the instigation of the governor, was a gain to the imperial revenue, though its cost had been defrayed by the colonial treasury. The new corps was much less expensive, and by order of Earl Bathurst, 20th March 1816, the surplus revenue was paid to the commissariat in aid of the

maintenance of the British troops. The governor endeavoured to induce the secretary of state to allow the whole of the revenue to be applied to colonial purposes alone, and represented that the taxation amounted to £4 10s. a year for each white person in the country; but the depression in England was then so great that his wishes could not be attended to.

The consequence of the weakening of the frontier defensive force was a great increase of depredations by Kaffirs. Incursions far into the colony became frequent, and Ndlambe refused even to restore colonial cattle seen in his kraals. Major Fraser, with a strong commando, entered Kaffirland on one occasion, and took from Ndlambe a sufficient number of cattle to cover the recent robberies; but no sooner was the force disbanded than the thieves were busy again, and two soldiers of the 72nd regiment were murdered by them.

Just at this time a change took place in the relative positions of the rival chiefs of the house of Rarabe, and Ndlambe suddenly became the more powerful of the two. Years before, when he was regent during the minority of Gaika, his half-brother Cebo, right-hand son of Rarabe, died without leaving issue. According to Bantu custom, some one had to be selected to represent the dead chief, that his name might not perish; and one of Ndlambe's minor sons, Dushane by name, through his father's influence was chosen. From that moment Dushane was regarded as the heir of Cebo, and was obeyed by the people who formed the clan of that chief. When the quarrel between Ndlambe and Gaika arose, and the bulk of the Amararabe were divided between them, the clan under Dushane remained distinct and took no part in the strife, as it was the right-hand branch, and the disputants were of the great house.

As the young chief advanced in years, he displayed abilities beyond those of any other member of the family of Tshawe. Keeping his followers out of the broils of the country and ruling them wisely, his clan rapidly grew, and by this time called itself by his name—the Imidushane—

instead of that of Cebo. Without actually assisting Gaika in arms, Dushane had hitherto favoured the party of that chief, owing to a quarrel between him and his father concerning the neglect and ill-treatment of his mother. But early in 1818 the old councillors of Ndlambe effected a reconciliation between the father and son, and henceforth their clans acted in alliance, though remaining distinct.

Of even greater importance was the friendship of Makana, a man of enormous influence in the country. Those who have only the reports of colonial officers from which to form an opinion of Makana's character, or who judge of him from his well-known son Umjusa, may conclude that he was little more than an ordinary priest or witch-finder, such as those who become prominent in every war. One who has listened to the glowing language in which scores of old men have described the conduct of him who had gone from them forty years before, who has studied the effect of his teaching even in distant parts of Kaffirland, and who has collected his maxims and his predictions from those who revered his memory, must think differently.

Makana, son of Balala, was not born to high rank among his people. His mother was held in repute as a wise woman, who was acquainted with mystical uses of plants, and who was skilful in divining events. Her son inherited her ability, and to the knowledge possessed by his countrymen added a good deal which he acquired from white people with whom he came in contact, especially from Dr. Vanderkemp, one of whose addresses upon the resurrection of the dead, which he heard at Bethelsdorp, leaving a lifelong impression upon him. Like all other Kaffirs, he admitted the existence of a Supreme God as soon as he was informed of such a Being; but he never embraced the doctrines of Christianity. He announced to his countrymen that he was in communication with the spirit-world, and many of them believed him, although the proof which he offered on one occasion to give to some doubters signally failed. He told them to go to a hollow rock on the beach near the mouth

of the Buffalo river, where the waves make a great noise at high water, and at a certain time he would join them, when they would see their dead relatives living again. They went as directed to the rock, which is called Gompo by the Xosas. Makana appeared at the time appointed; but though the dead did not rise, his prestige was not affected. On many occasions he announced events that would shortly take place; and these announcements often—thousands of his countrymen believed always—proved correct.

Before Makana's time the corpses of common people were not buried by the Xosas. After contact with a dead human body, a person had to go through certain ceremonies and to live secluded from society for a time, so that those who were seen to be dying were usually removed to the border of a forest or a lonely glen, and left there. If death took place in a hut, the body was dragged to a distance with a thong, and the hut was burnt down. Makana gave instructions that the dead should be buried in the ground, and announced that the displeasure of the spirit world would be visited upon those who disobeyed. His adherents complied, their example was followed by others, and within twenty years the practice of interment became general. Several vile habits, that can only be alluded to in general terms, were abandoned by his followers at his bidding; but have been adopted again by their descendants.

For superstitious reasons many persons did not like to pronounce the name of Makana, and among such persons he was called by a word—Nxele—signifying the left-handed one. In their intercourse with colonists they used the Dutch equivalent Linksch, which the English officials on the frontier corrupted into Lynx, and by this name he is known in the colonial records. In 1816 Makana was so powerful that the missionaries of the London society were for a time doubtful whether it would not be more advantageous to establish a station at his kraal than at that of Gaika.

For some years after the rise of this man to influence, he aimed at a consolidation of the western Xosas, and when

this scheme proved impracticable he declared himself on the side of Ndlambe. His guidance was followed by nearly all the little bands into which the clans that of old had given so much trouble to the colony were now broken, and the balance of power between the rival descendants of Rarabe was at once turned.

Gaika's residence at this time was by the head waters of the Tyumie, in one of the most beautiful valleys of South Africa. Above his kraals rose the grand mountain range of the Amatola, the highest dome of which, often snow-capped in July and August, is yet known by his name, and all the low lands along the river in the planting season were one great cornfield. There was a dense population in the valley, which was as renowned for fertility then among the Xosas as it is now among the Europeans and the Fingos who have succeeded them in its possession. The stream, that springs in cascades from one of the thick forests which clothe the deep kloofs of the Amatola, was termed the river of sweet waters, and its claim to the title was just. The Kaffir has a keen eye for beauty of situation, and here his love of mountain scenery was gratified to the full.

Makana formed a plan to draw Gaika away from his kraals, into an ambush where his enemies would be certain of victory. For this purpose a large party was sent out by night to seize the cattle belonging to one of his subordinate chieftains, and then to fall back to the eastward. Gaika called his ordinary councillors together to devise a scheme of retaliation, and requested various prominent men of the clan to aid him with advice. One of them, who was ill, and could not attend in person, sent him a message recommending him to be cautious, and not to cross the Keiskama under any circumstances, for fear of being led into a trap. The man who gave this advice was Ntsikana, the composer of the hymn that still bears his name, a strange wild chant that is capable of stirring the feelings of his countrymen more than any other poetry yet written.

At that time Ntsikana had not the influence which he possessed at a later date. He was a son of Gaba, one of the hereditary councillors of the clan; but there was a stigma attaching to him, because it was believed that his mother's father—Bindi by name—had kept a certain fabulous bird, through whose agency he had bewitched people. Nonabe, his mother, had been repudiated and driven away by Gaba on this account, and he had been brought up among the children of Noyiki, another of his father's wives. From Mr. Williams Ntsikana learned the leading doctrines of Christianity, and being convinced of their truth, in 1818 he began to instruct some of his countrymen, who assembled under the trees on the banks of the Mankazana to listen to him. Certainly portions of his doctrines were not what Europeans would term orthodox; how could it be otherwise in a mind shackled by hereditary superstition even while earnestly striving to seek the truth?* The feuds of his clan, too, gave rise to feelings which found expression in invectives against Makana and Makana's followers.

Many of Ntsikana's sayings have been preserved verbatim by Kaffir antiquaries, and among others the advice which he sent to Gaika by the messenger Ntsadu on this occasion: "Listen, son of Umlawu, to the words of the servant of God, and do not cross the Keiskama. I see the Gaikas scattered on the mountains, I see their heads devoured by ants. The enemy is watching there, and defeat awaits your plumed ones." Gaika was disposed to be

* In the case of most converts—perhaps all—it would be a mistake to suppose that our form of Christianity entirely replaces the Bantu belief. Even in the third generation of professing Christians the old religion often exhibits its presence in a way that startles observers. It has not even been dormant, much less was it dead. Instead of the new doctrine eradicating and entirely filling the place previously occupied by his hereditary religion, the profession of our faith by a Kaffir seems only to give a Christian colouring to his belief. The one undoubtedly leavens the other, but, if I have observed these people correctly, ancestral worship and fetichism will only be completely removed by a series of rejections, taking place with long intervals of time between them. I refer to the converts in general; there are individuals to whom these remarks may not be applicable, though even of this I have doubts.

guided by Ntsikana's advice; but one Mankoyi, a warrior of note, was urgent for revenge. The councillors supported Mankoyi in recommending a raid upon Ndlambe's people, and this was agreed upon. The line of march even was settled, and was at once made known to Makana by his spies.

The warriors set out from the Tyumie before sunrise of a winter morning, and marched eastward until they reached the pass named Debe Nek, under the peak called Intaba-ka-Ndoda. Then, in the plain below, they saw the Amandlambe arrayed for battle, and covering the ground in patches like strips of red carpet. The plain is called by Europeans the Kommetje flats, from a great number of saucer-like cavities in its surface. By the Xosas these depressions are called amalinde, and from this circumstance the battle of that day is still spoken of by them as the battle of Amalinde. Gaika's warriors thought they saw the whole force of their enemies, and when Mankoyi shouted exultingly, "Huku, to-day we have them!" it was with difficulty that more prudent men restrained an impetuous rush. In reality, much the larger portion of Ndlambe's army was concealed, and a strong division of Galekas, intended as a reserve, was posted three or four miles farther eastward, close to the Green river.

Until a much later date than that in which these events occurred, Xosa warriors were divided into two classes. Of these, one was composed of veterans, whose heads were adorned with feathers of the blue crane, as a mark of distinction. They were supposed to attack those only who had similar marks of honour, and held everyone else in disdain. The other class was composed of young men, who went by the name of round heads. At the commencement of an action, if the plumed ones came in contact with round heads, they would merely protect themselves with their shields without using their assagais, but in the heat of battle all such distinctions were forgotten.

As soon as the Gaikas were seen to halt, Ndlambe sent his round heads up to attack them, but these were easily driven

back, and their opponents rushed down after them, yelling defiance. This was all that was desired, for now the plumed ones sprang to their feet, large parties hitherto concealed made their appearance, and the fight commenced in earnest. Makoma, Gaika's right-hand son, in after years to be known as the bitter foe of the white man, was the hero of his father's side in this the first battle in which he was ever engaged. He led his band right into the centre of the field, and charged again and again at the thickest mass of the foe. At length he was severely wounded, and was compelled to retire, narrowly escaping being made a prisoner as he did so.

It was not long past midday when the battle began, and all the afternoon it lasted, till about sunset the Gaikas were driven from the field with dreadful slaughter. As long as they could see, the Ndlambes pursued them, and when darkness closed in, the victors returned to the scene of carnage and kindled great fires, by the light of which they sought their wounded enemies and put them to death with brutal ferocity. The night was bitterly cold, and many hundreds of poor wretches, who managed to crawl to a distance, were found next morning dead and dying. From the time that Rarabe crossed the Kei, no such desperate combat had been known among the Xosas, and it was the event from which the aged among them until very recently dated all the occurrences of their youth.

Gaika fled westward to the Winterberg, and sent to the nearest military post, urgently requesting aid. The adherents of Ndlambe took possession of his corn-pits, and burned his kraals, but were unable to secure the whole of his cattle, as the herds were hastily driven away. At first not much credit was attached to the story told by Hendrik Nutka, Gaika's messenger, who related that in numerous families there was not a male member left alive, and that no such wailing as that of the women had ever before been heard in the Kaffir country; but shortly so many accounts reached the government that all doubt disappeared.

The force at the disposal of Lord Charles Somerset was at this time much more reliable than it had been a year before. A considerable number of men of the worst character had been drafted from the Royal African corps in exchange for a larger number of the best conducted men of the 60th regiment, that was then under orders to return to England, and, after several hundreds of the privates had been discharged in Capetown, left South Africa in January 1819. It was replaced in the colony by the 38th, a fine regiment 775 strong, which arrived in November 1818. A commando of burghers was called out, the frontier posts were strengthened, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, of the Royal African corps, was then directed to march to the assistance of the chief who was regarded as friendly to the colony with a mixed force of infantry and mounted farmers. Accordingly, in December 1818 Colonel Brereton crossed the Fish river, and being joined by Gaika's people, attacked Ndlambe, who was believed to be at the head of eighteen thousand men.

Ndlambe and his followers, however, did not venture to make a stand on open ground, but retired to dense thickets, which afforded them shelter. Several of their kraals were destroyed, and some of their movable property was seized. The British commander found it impossible to restrain the savage passions of the Gaikas, who were mad with excitement and joy at being able to take revenge, and were unwilling to show mercy when any of their enemies fell into their hands. He withdrew, therefore, before accomplishing the destruction of Ndlambe, taking with him twenty-three thousand head of cattle. Of these, nine thousand were given to Gaika, some were distributed among the farmers who had suffered from depredations, and the remainder were sold to defray the expenses of the expedition. On reaching Grahamstown, the burghers were disbanded and permitted to return to their homes.

Ndlambe at once took advantage of the opportunity. Falling upon Gaika, he compelled that chief and his

adherents to flee to the mountains near the junction of the Baviaans' and Fish rivers, and then he poured his warriors into the colony. The inhabitants of the district between the Fish and Sunday rivers, unless in the neighbourhood of military posts, were compelled to retire to lagers, and lost nearly all their movable property. Several small military patrols were attacked, and seventeen white people and four Hottentots were murdered. Among those who lost their lives were Captain Gethin, of the 72nd regiment, and Ensign Hunt, of the Royal African corps. The former, with seven soldiers, was pursuing some marauders near his post at De Bruin's drift, when he was surrounded and stabbed to death. His men recovered the body, which was found with thirty wounds, and it was removed to Grahamstown for burial. Ensign Hunt, with a small patrol, was attacked on a plain at night. The assailants were beaten off, but he fell in the combat.

The London missionary society's station Theopolis was twice attacked, but only by a small force, which the Hottentot residents managed to beat off. On the 14th of April a party appeared at the Moravian station Enon, and nine Hottentot men were killed before the assailants retired. All the cattle belonging to the place were driven off. Colonel Cuyler then sent oxen and removed the whole establishment—the missionaries and about one hundred and fifty Hottentot men, women, and children—to Uitehange, where for some time they were supplied with food at the public cost. They had hardly left the station when it was pillaged and destroyed. About eleven thousand head of horned cattle, besides many horses and sheep, were swept off from the colony before the Kaffirs could be checked.

Makana was the leading actor in this movement. His messengers were everywhere in Kaffirland, calling upon all true Xosas to take part in the strife against the Europeans and the Gaikas, in thrilling language promising victory to those who would do their duty, and denouncing the wrath of the spirits against those who should hold back.

As Colonel Brereton was desirous of returning to Europe, on the 21st of February 1819 Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Willshire, of the 38th regiment, was directed by the governor to proceed to the frontier and take over the command, and on the 3rd of March a strong burgher force was called out. The frontier districts were at this time suffering from a long drought, and the horse sickness was unusually severe, so that it was with difficulty the farmers could take the field. Before the commando could be got together Grahamstown was attacked.

The troops there consisted of forty-five men of the 38th infantry, one hundred and thirty-five men of the Royal African corps, thirty-two armed men unattached, and one hundred and twenty-one men of the Cape corps. Makana was made acquainted with the exact strength of the garrison, and with every circumstance of importance that transpired, by Hendrik Nutka, who had become a spy and in the character of Gaika's messenger had been some days in the place.

The attack was made soon after sunrise on the morning of the 22nd of April 1819 by between nine and ten thousand men. When they made their appearance, Colonel Willshire was at some distance from the town, inspecting a cavalry troop of the Cape corps. Captain Trappes, the next in command, however, at once made arrangements for defence. Leaving sixty men of the Royal African corps, under Lieutenant Cartwright, to defend the barracks, he drew up the remainder of the infantry between the houses and the approaching enemy. Colonel Willshire and the cavalry arrived just in time to aid in the defence.

When full in view, the Xosas arranged their order of attack. A detachment left the main body and took up a position to intercept any aid from the post at Bluekrans. The remainder formed into three columns, and upon a signal from their leader, rushed forward with fierce war-cries. Two of these columns, led respectively by Dushane and Kobe, son of the late chief Cungwa, and brother of Pato, hurled

themselves against Colonel Willshire's band. The soldiers stood firm till they were within a few paces, and then poured a volley of musketry and artillery into them. This checked the advance, and immediately the troops charged in their turn, and put the Xosas to flight.

The largest of the three columns was directed against the barracks, and was led by Makana. He had given his followers orders to break their assagai shafts short off, and to close in a hand-to-hand combat. Lieutenant Cartwright received them with a discharge of musketry, but they seemed regardless of death when under Makana's eye, and pressed eagerly on until they penetrated the barrack square. Here they were exposed to a deadly fire, while the soldiers could not be reached with their assagais, and when at last they fled in dismay, one hundred and two dead bodies were lying in the square. They carried their wounded away with them.

Meantime the other columns rallied and returned to the attack. They were met as before by a storm of cannon and musket balls, and some of their leaders were picked off by a few Hottentot hunters under the old captain Boesak, who came into Grahamstown at the most critical moment, and gave Colonel Willshire all the aid they could. The bands under Dushane and Kobe were once more forced to retire, and when Makana's column joined them in flight, no attempt was made to renew the combat.

The loss of the Xosas in the attack on Grahamstown cannot be stated. It has been variously estimated from seven hundred to thirteen hundred men. About five hundred bodies were counted, but many more died of their wounds before reaching the Fish river. Three of Ndlambe's minor sons were among the killed. Hendrik Nutka, the spy who had given Makana information of the strength of the garrison, was with the column that attempted to storm the barracks. He was wounded and made a prisoner, when he was immediately shot. The casualties on the English side were three men killed and five wounded.

In May 1819 the strength of the military force in the colony was increased by the arrival of the 54th regiment, which enabled Lord Charles Somerset to bring the troops on the frontier up to nineteen hundred rank and file. Major Holloway, of the royal engineers, was directed to put the line of defence in proper order, a Hottentot levy of one hundred and fifty men was raised, and as soon as the burghers assembled preparations for an advance into Kaffirland were made. The invading force consisted of one thousand eight hundred and fifty mounted burghers, five hundred foot soldiers, and the cavalry of the Cape corps, formed in three columns.

On the 22nd of July one of these columns, under Landdrost Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, marched by way of the Winterberg. On the 31st of the same month Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, at the head of the central column, crossed the Fish river at De Bruin's drift, and the right column under Major Fraser crossed near the sea. They scoured the jungles along the Fish river, drove the hostile clans eastward with heavy loss, and followed them to the banks of the Kei. About thirty thousand head of cattle were seized, and all the loose property belonging to the enemy was destroyed. Ndlambe's power was broken, many of his adherents were killed, and those who remained alive were reduced to the condition of destitute fugitives.

On the 15th of August Makana surrendered to Landdrost Stockenstrom, stating that he did so to procure peace for his people, who were starving. He took this step without the consent or even the knowledge of his followers, who were ready to perish with him. A few days after his surrender a small party of Kaffirs was seen at the edge of a thicket near Colonel Willshire's camp, making signs that they desired a parley. Colonel Willshire, Landdrost Stockenstrom, and another officer went to meet them unarmed, when two Kaffirs approached, who proved to be councillors of Ndlambe and Makana. After a few questions relative to the prisoner, Makana's councillor gave a brief history of the war, asserting

that it was an unjust one on the part of the Europeans, and ending with the following sentences, as taken down at the time by Landdrost Stockenstrom:

"We wish for peace, we wish to rest in our huts, we wish to get milk for our children, our wives wish to till the land. But your troops cover the plains, and swarm in the thickets, where they cannot distinguish the man from the woman, and shoot all. You want us to submit to Gaika. That man's face is fair to you, but his heart is insincere. Leave him to himself. Make peace with us. Let him fight for himself, and *we* will not call on you for help. Set Makana free, and Ndlambe, Kobe, and the others will come to you any time you fix. But if you will still make war, you may indeed kill the last man of us; but Gaika shall not rule over the followers of those who think him a woman."

Makana was sent a prisoner to Robben Island, where political offenders as well as persons convicted of crime were then kept in detention, but after a confinement of less than a year he endeavoured to escape. There was a whaling establishment belonging to Mr. Murray on the island. During the night of the 9th of August 1820 Makana at the head of thirty prisoners overpowered the guard, seized the whaling boats, and tried to get to the mainland. His companions succeeded in reaching the shore,* but he was drowned in the surf. The generation to which he belonged passed away, however, before his countrymen would acknow-

* As soon as possible they were followed by a commando under Fieldcornet Coenraad van Eyssen, but they were found to have divided into several parties, only one of which was overtaken. This band was composed of desperate characters who refused to surrender, but three of them were captured and some others were shot. The three—among whom was a European named John Smith—were hanged for the offence, and their heads were afterwards fixed on stakes and exposed to view on Robben Island. Most of the other fugitives were subsequently apprehended, and received various kinds of punishment. This event led to the breaking up of the whaling establishment on Robben Island shortly after Lord Charles Somerset's return to the colony. The governor, believing that the boats offered too great a temptation to the convicts, required Mr. Murray to remove to the mainland, but in December 1822 awarded him £1,150 as compensation for his buildings.

ledge that he was dead, for many of them firmly believed that he was immortal. Through the three succeeding wars they looked confidently for his appearance to lead them to victory. It was only in 1873 that his mats and ornaments, carefully preserved during all that period, were buried, and every expectation of his returning to Kaffirland was lost. The long deferred and finally abandoned hope of his reappearance has given rise to a proverb: *Kukuza kuka Nxele*—the coming of Nxele—you are looking for something you will never see.*

With Makana's surrender hostilities ceased, though the commandos were kept in the field to prevent the fugitive adherents of Ndlambe from returning and settling west of the Keiskama. The burghers were in great discomfort, as most of their horses had died and their clothing was nearly worn out, but they were in good spirits and the military officers reported that their conduct was excellent. So matters remained until the governor, attended by Lieutenant-Colonel Bird, proceeded to the frontier in order to make new arrangements for the protection of the colony. On the 15th of October at the Gwanga he had a conference with Gaika and as many of the chiefs lately in arms as had surrendered or could be induced to meet him. Eno, Botumane, Pato, Habana, and Gasela were present. Kasa had fallen in the war. It was believed that Ndlambe was a fugitive beyond the Kei. The course that was adopted by Lord Charles Somerset was denounced in after years by the great philanthropic societies in England as a wrong to the Kaffirs, and no one has ever attempted to justify it except on the plea of necessity.

The Fish river along its lower course, being bordered by dense and extensive thickets, was a very bad boundary. These thickets were composed chiefly of useless shrubs,

* Though Makana had four wives, he left but one son, Umjusa by name, and four daughters. Three of his children are still alive (1890). Umjusa has six wives and thirty children. One of his sons, known among his countrymen by his Xosa name Galada, and among Europeans as the reverend John William Gawler, is a deacon in the English episcopal church.

which could not be burned or destroyed. They afforded the most perfect sheltering places for thieves, who could lie in wait there for favourable opportunities to enter the colony in search of plunder, and when stolen cattle were once within them, rescue was next to impossible. The paths through the Fish river bush, as the belt of thickets was termed, were merely tracks made by elephants, except where roads had been constructed with an enormous expenditure of labour. The clearing of this bush during the war had been an operation of such difficulty that the military officers were unanimous in opinion that the Xosas ought not to be allowed again to get possession of it. They thought the Keiskama, the next large stream to the eastward, would form a much better boundary. Its banks were more open, and its line was much shorter, because the mountain range in which it rises, and which was the inland border of the Kaffir country, there approached more closely to the sea.

Lord Charles Somerset adopted this view, and resolved to act upon it. The land between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, from the coast up to the Gwanga streamlet where the conference with the chiefs took place, belonged by hereditary right to the Gunukwebe clan, and as they had been among the most active enemies of the colony, the governor conceived that he was justified in declaring it forfeited. Above the Gwanga the greater portion of the territory between the old colonial boundary and the Keiskama had always been unoccupied, but those kraals which stood in it before the war belonged to Gaika's adherents, and the whole country might fairly be claimed by him.

Lord Charles therefore sought to get possession of it under colour of an amicable arrangement. He proposed to Gaika that the Keiskama should be the future boundary, in order that between the two races there might be a vacant tract of land, which he would cause to be patrolled by soldiers, and thus peace and friendship would be preserved. The chief felt that he was in the governor's power. Even at that

moment, when Ndlambe was a fugitive, Makana a prisoner, and his other enemies prostrate, he knew that if the countenance of the white man was withdrawn there was nothing but trouble in store for him. He therefore tried to make the best bargain possible under the circumstances. He asked that the valley of the Tyumie might be left to him. It was there, he said, that he was born, and there he wished to live. He was asked how he could say he was born in the Tyumie valley, when at the time of his birth the whole of the upper country west of the Keiskama had no other occupants than Bushmen. He replied that he did not mean he was actually born there, but he had gone to live there when he was a boy, and if the governor would but let him keep that valley he would agree to the cession of the land beyond.

Lord Charles consented, and with Gaika's nominal concurrence declared the western boundary of the Kaffir country to be the ridge of hills branching off from the Winterberg range and forming the watershed between the Kat and Tyumie rivers, the Tyumie to the Keiskama, and the Keiskama to the sea. The terms of the arrangement were not committed to writing, and one point in the line was left obscure. Where was the junction between the ridge of hills and the Tyumie river to be? During many years thereafter the Gaga, a streamlet running through the present village of Alice, was commonly regarded as the line of connection, but a future acting governor decided upon the next higher tributary of the Tyumie. No difficulty in this respect, however, was foreseen when the arrangement was made. It was understood that the territory between the new line and the old colonial boundary was to be occupied only by soldiers.

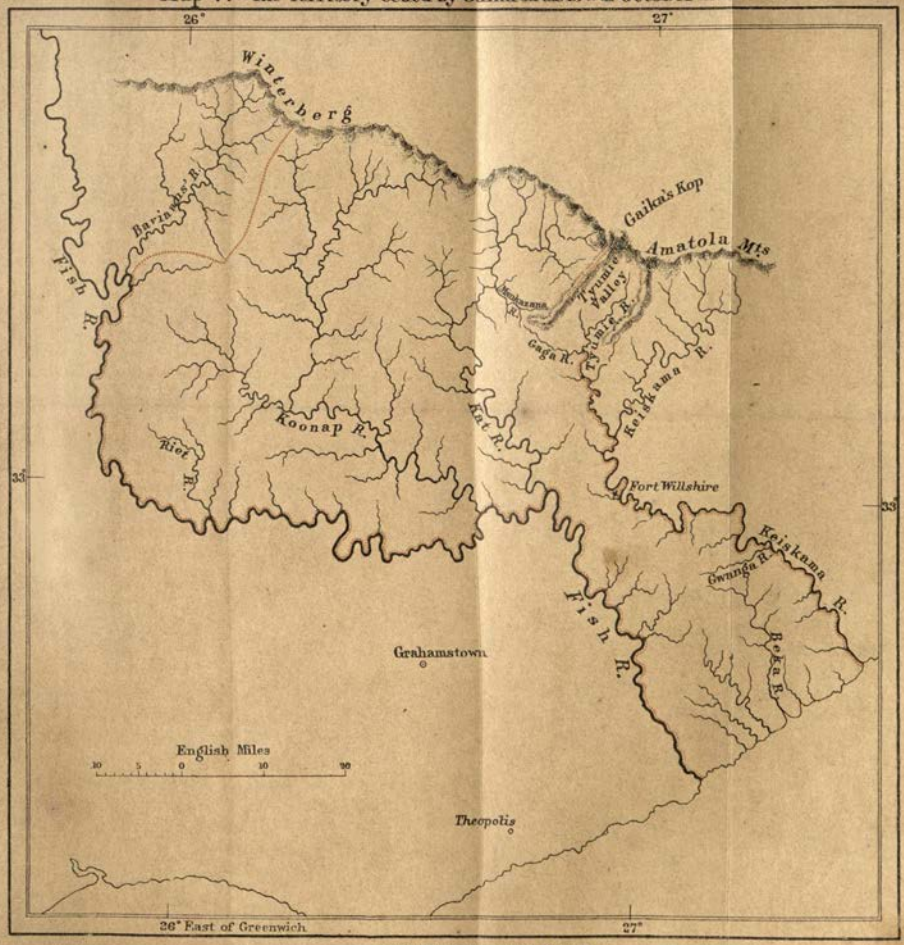
The governor required the other chiefs present at the conference to acknowledge Gaika as their head, and they did not venture to refuse. None of them objected to the new boundary, but they were not asked to agree to it, for Lord Charles would only treat with Gaika. The transaction

must be regarded simply as an act of authority on his part. Gaika had no right under Kaffir law to cede an inch of ground, and if he had, his consent in this instance was not freely given. That the Kaffirs regarded the land as taken from them, and not as voluntarily ceded by them, is certain from their assertions in after years, as well as by their describing the English ever since that time as *omasiza mbulala*—people who rescue and kill.

After the conference the governor established temporary military camps on the Gaga and the Gwanga, and permitted the burghers to return to their homes. He then selected a site for a permanent post, and directed a strong pentagonal fort to be built, which he named Fort Willshire. It was on a slope gently rising from a long and deep reach of the Keiskama, a few miles below the junction of the Tyumie. The river at this place makes its nearest approach to the old colonial boundary, so that the fort was on a neck between the wider parts of the ceded territory above and below it. Before the close of the year a commencement was made with the walls, which were constructed of stone, neatly cut at the angles. A detachment of the 72nd regiment was stationed there under canvas, and nearly the whole engineer force in the country was employed upon the work.

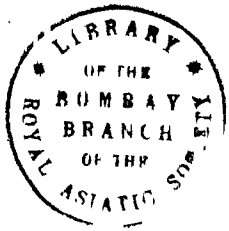
To patrol the country between the Fish and Keiskama rivers cavalry was needed, and there was not a European mounted soldier in South Africa, nor had the governor any hope that such troops would be supplied from England. He had a strong objection to the employment of Hottentots, as naturally the colonists disliked to see men of an inferior race trained to the use of arms, but he felt that he had no choice in the matter. Accordingly, in October 1819, before the burghers were permitted to return to their homes, the Cape corps was enlarged to twenty-three officers and four hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and rank and file. Of these not quite one-third were cavalry, but horses were provided for the majority of the others that they

Map V. The Territory ceded by Gaika on the 15th of October 1819.



London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co Ltd.

might serve as mounted infantry. The secretary of state approved of this arrangement, the cost being borne by the colony, though the contribution towards the maintenance of the European troops was thereafter reduced to little or nothing.



CHAPTER XI.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RUFANE SHAWE DONKIN, ACTING GOVERNOR, 12TH JANUARY 1820 TO 30TH NOVEMBER 1821.

BEFORE 1820 the white population of the Cape Colony was almost entirely Dutch, and it was so prolific that it doubled in number every quarter of a century. It was engaged chiefly in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The only British residents in the country were the principal civil servants, some merchants in Capetown, the staff of the naval arsenal in Simonstown, two or three farmers, a few missionaries, and some mechanics and labourers recently introduced by Mr. Benjamin Moodie, Mr. James Gosling, and Mr. Peter Tait.

In 1817 Mr. Moodie, with the concurrence of the secretary of state, engaged about two hundred young men in the south of Scotland, and brought them out as apprentices indentured for three years. Three-fourths of the number were mechanics, and the remainder were labourers. With two or three exceptions, they were without family ties. They cost Mr. Moodie about £20 each for their passages, and so great was the demand for their services that he had no difficulty in selling the indentures for more than double that amount, in many cases to the men themselves. Some of these people settled in Capetown, others in the country districts, and in a short time all of them who were industrious and steady were in prosperous circumstances. By writing to their friends at home they helped to bring the country to the notice of the labouring classes of Great Britain, and it was largely owing to their success that Earl Bathurst came to regard South Africa as a suitable field for

colonisation. Mr. Moodie himself settled on an excellent farm at Grootvadersbosch, in the district of Swellendam.

Mr. Gosling was an experimental gentleman farmer in the district of Stellenbosch. In 1818 he got out twelve boys as apprentices from a charitable institution termed the Refuge for the Destitute, but his expectations of success were not realised, and some of the lads with criminal instincts turned out badly.

In 1818 a gentleman named Peter Tait took to the colony seven Scotch labourers. He received from the government a tract of land in the district of George, where he considered the prospects of farming so good that in the following year he had nineteen others of the same class sent out to him. All were under indentures, and he was able to obtain a considerable advance upon the cost of passage for as many of these as he cared to dispose of. The men thus introduced throve better than they could have done in Scotland, but Mr. Tait himself lost his capital through the failure of his crops in 1820, 21, and 22, and after struggling on until 1824 gave up farming and returned to Britain.

Some seven or eight hundred time-expired soldiers, principally of the 60th regiment, had recently been discharged in Capetown, but most of these men were foreigners. They readily obtained employment as labourers, though as they were of indifferent character and formed connections with the coloured people, they were more harmful than useful to the colony.

Of late, Earl Bathurst had been offering land in South Africa to persons desirous of emigrating, in extent proportionate to their means of cultivating it, but as no other inducement was held out, the offer was almost without result.

For some years after the termination of the long war with France there was much distress among the labouring people of Great Britain, as the country could not furnish employment at once for the large numbers who directly or indirectly had been occupied in carrying on the contest. The only remedy seemed to be emigration to other parts

of the empire where the condition of things was different, where there was land without people, or work to be done and no one to do it. This was the state of the Cape Colony, with its genial climate, its sparsely inhabited territory, and its undeveloped resources.

On the 28th of July 1817 the subject of emigration to South Africa on a large scale was first mooted in a despatch from Earl Bathurst, in which Lord Charles Somerset was called upon for an expression of opinion. The governor replied on the 18th of December, enthusiastically favouring the scheme. He described the territory between the Sunday and Fish rivers, known as the Zuurveld or Albany, in glowing terms, and certainly, judging from its appearance in favourable seasons, he was justified in doing so. It has always been the case in South Africa that any advantages possessed by a locality are recognised at first sight, and its faults only become known by experience. Thus the governor knew no other bane than Kaffir marauders, for which a dense population behind his frontier defensive line would be an effectual remedy. He described the climate as delicious, and the soil as fertile. Wool, corn, tobacco, and cotton, he affirmed, could be produced for exportation. It was a land where, in his opinion, steady and industrious mechanics and labourers would be certain to succeed.

The plan he recommended was that parties of working people should be sent out, each under a competent head who should receive a grant of land proportionate in size to the number of his retainers. Apart from such a system being one which he as a member of an aristocratic family would naturally favour there was a special reason, in his opinion, for its adoption in the eastern part of the Cape Colony. It would provide in the best manner for defence against the Kaffirs, as a number of men would be always ready on every estate to repel marauders. It was indeed the common system of the colony, for instances were very rare of the owner of a plot of ground cultivating it with his own hands. In the west the proprietors of the cornfields and vineyards

had numerous slaves, in the midland and north-eastern districts the graziers had always Hottentots and other coloured dependents upon their farms. But the parallel was not complete. What answered well where the labourers were of an inferior race might not succeed where the proprietor of the ground and the dependents were of the same blood and of the same, or nearly the same, station in society.

The imperial government then resolved to send to South Africa some of the surplus population of Great Britain and Ireland, and in 1819 parliament was asked to grant £50,000 for the purpose. The money was voted without demur, and measures were immediately taken to carry out the scheme. The first step was to call for applications from persons desirous of taking out emigrants, which was done by inserting notices in the leading newspapers.

The conditions were that each applicant should engage to take with him at least nine other able-bodied males over eighteen years of age. Passages, including provisions for the persons composing such parties and their families, would be provided free of charge to the port of landing, but the responsibility of the government for further maintenance would then cease. Ground to the extent of one hundred acres for each male over eighteen years of age would be allotted at once, and at the expiration of three years a title-deed would be issued free of all charges to the head of the party for as many hundred acres as there should be then such males remaining on it. No taxes were to be payable for the ground during the first ten years, and thereafter the annual quitrent was not to exceed £2 per hundred acres. Each person taking out emigrants was to deposit with the government £10 for every man with his wife and two children and every unmarried male over eighteen years of age, and where there were more than two children in a family £5 for every one in excess between fourteen and eighteen, and £5 for every two under fourteen years of age. One-third of this deposit was to be returned when the party

landed, one-third when the ground was occupied, and the remaining third three months thereafter. Agricultural implements, seed corn, and rations for a short period were to be supplied to any who might need them at cost price, to be paid for out of the deposit money. The head of a party was to be at liberty to make any arrangements with his people that he and they might consider best for their mutual advantage; and every party of one hundred families was to have the privilege of selecting a clergyman of any denomination of Christians to accompany it, to whom a salary would be paid by the colonial government.

In reply to this invitation so many applications were received that the government had fully twenty times as many to choose from as could be sent out with the means provided by parliament. A careful selection was then made, which ended in the approval of fifty-seven heads of parties, who undertook to take out one thousand and thirty-four Englishmen, four hundred and twelve Scotchmen, one hundred and seventy-four Irishmen, and forty-two Welshmen, about two-thirds of whom were to be accompanied by wives and children. Before embarking, however, a good many changes were made in the lists of names, and one party of four hundred Scotch families under Captain J. Grant withdrew altogether.

The parties were variously constituted. Only a few, and they the smallest of all, consisted of servants bound by agreements to their head. Many consisted of groups of persons each of whom had a few servants, together with some who were dependent on their own labour alone, and who elected a head merely as an intermediary with the government. Such parties agreed to divide the ground that was to be granted to the head in fair proportions among them. Others consisted entirely of independent units, with only a nominal head, and these agreed that each man was to receive one hundred acres of the grant, and each one contributed his own deposit money. One such party, from Nottingham, was supplied by public subscription with the

necessary funds. In a few instances parishes furnished the means to families who, in consequence of dearth of employment, were likely to become burdensome on them.

Many of the leaders of parties were military or naval officers, who, in consequence of the peace, were obliged to retire on half pay. There were four large English parties: one of one hundred and two men, seventy-two women, and one hundred and thirty-three children, under Mr. Thomas Willson, accompanied by the reverend William Boardman, a clergyman of the English episcopal church; one of one hundred and one men, eighty-two women, and one hundred and sixty-one children, under Mr. Hezekiah Sephton, accompanied by the reverend William Shaw, a clergyman of the Wesleyan church; one of ninety men, fifty-eight women, and one hundred and eight children, under Mr. John Bailie; and one of sixty men, thirty-four women, and seventy-three children, under Mr. Thomas Calton. There was an Irish party of seventy-five men, fifty women, and ninety-five children, under Mr. William Parker, accompanied by the reverend Francis McCleland, a clergyman of the English episcopal church. The others were all groups ranging from ten to forty men, with a number of women and children. In some instances the men left their wives and children behind, and these did not reach South Africa until several years later.

The people who were about to leave Britain and Ireland, where they could then obtain no employment, with the intention of making homes for themselves in a country of which they knew little more than the name, consisted of a few men who were unfit for manual labour but who were in possession of small capitals, clerks, mechanics of all descriptions, farm labourers, discharged sailors and soldiers, boatmen, fishermen, workers in towns, men in short of almost every known occupation. They were not aware that the physical condition of South Africa was very different from that of the land they were leaving, but pictured to themselves wide-spreading cornfields and flourishing villages

on their little grants, a hundred acres of land seeming to them a considerable estate.

The first transports—the *Chapman* and *Nautilus*—left the Thames on the 5th and 9th of December 1819, and arrived together in Table Bay on the 17th of March 1820. They were followed by the *Garland, Canada, Belle Alliance, Brilliant, Zoroaster, Aurora,* and *Sir George Osborne* from London, the *John, Stentor,* and *Albury* from Liverpool, the *Northampton, Ocean, Weymouth,* and *Duke of Marlborough* from Portsmouth, the *Kennersley Castle* from Bristol, and the *Amphitrite* from Torbay. Altogether these ships brought to South Africa one thousand and seventy-nine men, six hundred and thirty-two women, and one thousand and sixty-four children as immigrants. Four Irish parties, under Mr. William Parker, Captain Walter Synnot, Captain Thomas Butler, and Mr. John Ingram, numbering together one hundred and twenty-six men, seventy-three women, and one hundred and fifty children, sailed from Cork in the transports *East Indian* and *Fanny* on the 12th of February 1820, and arrived in Simon's Bay on the 30th of April and 1st of May.

It had been Lord Charles Somerset's intention to locate the whole of the immigrants in the Zuurveld, but Sir Rufane Donkin made a different arrangement. Earl Bathurst had directed that each nationality—English, Scotch, and Irish—should be provided with ground by itself, so the acting governor decided to keep the Irish and some of the other parties in the western districts of the colony. The Scotch party under Mr. Thomas Pringle, consisting of twelve men, five women, and seven children, was directed by him to be located in the valley of the Baviaans' river in the sub-district of Cradock, and the principal English parties were to be placed in the Zuurveld. In accordance with this decision, the *East Indian* and *Fanny* on their arrival were sent to Saldanha Bay to disembark their passengers. Four parties of mixed Welsh and English, under Captain Duncan Campbell, Lieutenant Valentine Griffith, Lieutenant Thomas

White, and Mr. Joseph Neave, consisting together of fifty-nine men, twenty-five women, and thirty-two children, were landed at Capetown, and the transports containing all the others were sent to Algoa Bay. Captain Moresby, in His Majesty's ship *Menai*, accompanied the *Chapman* and *Nautilus* when they sailed for that bay, and remained there to superintend the landing of the immigrants and the stores. Between the 10th of April and the 25th of June 1820 one thousand and twenty men, six hundred and seven women, and one thousand and thirty-two children, were set ashore on the sandy beach below Fort Frederick without a single accident occurring.

The number of immigrants about to arrive was unknown to the Cape authorities, but preparations for their reception had been made on such a scale at Algoa Bay that there was no lack of food or tents for shelter. A surveyor had been directed to make a rough chart of the country between the Kowie and Fish rivers, and from his sketches and descriptions of the soil and water locations were selected for the various parties according to their size. One party, under Mr. Charles Gurney, consisting chiefly of fishermen from Deal, and composed of thirteen men, three women, and eight children, preferred to remain at Algoa Bay, where they thought they might succeed in the occupation to which they were accustomed. They established themselves near the mouth of the Zwartkops river, and called their little station Deal in memory of their old home. Waggons were requisitioned from the Dutch farmers of George, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet, and with as little delay as possible the other immigrants were sent forward and placed on the ground selected for them. Mr. Henry Ellis, who since July 1819 had been deputy colonial secretary, was there to superintend the general arrangements until Sir Rufane Donkin should arrive.

The acting governor decided to locate the four Irish parties in the valley of the Jan Dissel's river at Clanwilliam. It was an unfortunate choice of locality, for the ground capable of cultivation was too limited in extent

to support so many people, and the heat in summer is so great that nothing can grow there without irrigation. But under the most favourable circumstances very few of these people could have made a living by agriculture, as the great majority of them were mechanics or town labourers. Mr. William Parker, the head of the largest party, had come to South Africa with the expectation that he would be granted land at the Knysna, where he intended to engage in commerce, and was greatly disappointed when he was informed that the ground there was private property. He then with a companion visited Clanwilliam, and returned to Saldanha Bay, where the *East Indian* and *Fanny* were at anchor, with such an unfavourable impression that discontent became general among the immigrants.

The government now offered the Irish parties the choice of being located at Clanwilliam or the Zuurveld, upon which they selected the former, and were conducted to Jan Dissel's Valley in waggons requisitioned from the farmers. Mr. Parker, however, with some of his indentured servants remained at Saldanha Bay, where he formed fantastic plans of founding a town, engaging in commerce, and establishing a large fishery, though his means were very limited. As a matter of course, these schemes came to nothing, and he then threw the blame of his failure upon the government, and particularly upon Lieutenant-Colonel Bird, the colonial secretary, whom he accused of having purposely sought to ruin him. Colonel Bird was a Roman Catholic, and this was before the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in England. Mr. Parker asserted that he was conspiring to subvert Protestantism in the colony, and that as a Catholic it was illegal for him to hold a civil office. He wrote long letters on this subject and his own distress to Earl Bathurst and many leading men in England, and after his departure from South Africa in October 1822 he pestered the colonial office with letters and pamphlets for several years, in the vain hope of obtaining either a lucrative situation or pecuniary compensation for his losses.

A few weeks' experience convinced the settlers at Clanwilliam that it would be an impossibility for so many persons to make a living there. The government also recognised that a mistake had been made, and on the 25th of July offered to remove them to the Zuurveld and supply them with rations free of charge until they could gather crops, in consideration of their loss of time. Most of them accepted the offer, and thereafter became blended with the English settlers in Albany. Some of Mr. Parker's people, whom he had abandoned, preferred, however, to remove to Capetown, where they could obtain employment at high wages, and they were permitted to do so. Mr. Ingram was allowed to purchase the claims of some of the others at a very low rate, and had a title to the ground given to him, so he remained there a couple of years longer, though his party removed to Albany. Captain Walter Synnot remained also, and on the 30th of November 1821 became deputy landdrost of Clanwilliam, in succession to Mr. Olof Martini Bergh. The reverend Francis McCleland, who was in receipt of a salary from government, was retained at Clanwilliam, where after 1822 he had only six English-speaking families to minister to, until November 1825, when he was transferred to Port Elizabeth.

The parties under Messrs. Griffith, White, Campbell, and Neave were sent to the farm Wolvegat purchased by the government for £1,200 for the purpose, adjoining some vacant ground on the Zonderend river, not far from the Moravian mission station Genadendal. But the soil proved so poor that all idea of permanent residence there was soon abandoned by most of the settlers, and on the 25th of July an offer was made to them similar to that made to the parties at Clanwilliam. Lieutenant Griffith preferred to take over from the tenant the lease of the Old Post farm in Groenekloof, and with his brother and some labourers moved to it; Mr. Neave chose to remain where he was; the others accepted the offer of the government, and were conveyed to Albany. Thus the immigrants with very few

exceptions were located on the ground that Lord Charles Somerset intended they should be settled upon. At the time of their arrival there were only thirty-eight farms occupied in the whole of that district, so completely had the depredations of the Kaffirs deterred the old colonists from settling there. Of these farms sixteen were subsequently resumed by the government, so that from the first Albany was almost purely a British settlement, although at a later date several Dutch colonists had land granted to them there.

The immigrants had hardly reached their destination when dissatisfaction appeared among them. They found a beautiful country indeed, clothed with grass and dotted over with trees like an English park, but it was not the country they had pictured to themselves before seeing it. The proportion that was capable of being tilled was small, and the hundred acres allotted for each man included that which was fit only for pasture as well as that adapted for the plough. Then in many cases redistribution of locations became necessary, as fresh parties arrived, and those who were moved to inferior ground were loud in their complaints.

Besides this, the mechanics and the labourers who were indentured to heads of parties came to hear of the high wages paid in other districts of the colony, and were desirous of breaking their engagements. To keep them together very stringent regulations were made by the government, so that no one could leave his location without a pass from the head of his party, or the district without a pass from the landdrost, under penalty of being apprehended and punished as a vagrant. The majority of the settlers knew nothing of agriculture, and those who had been accustomed to farm life in England had yet to learn a great deal in Africa. Still, with all the dissatisfaction, the settlers generally speaking set to work with the utmost energy. They had obtained seed corn and farm implements from the government on credit, and were furnished with rations on security of the two-thirds of their deposit money that

had not yet been repaid. And so large patches of ground were turned over and sown with wheat, and cottages of simple structure were put up to serve until more substantial houses could be built.

On the 29th of April Sir Rufane Donkin left Capetown to visit the new settlement. He found that the cost of conveyance of the immigrants from Algoa Bay inland would absorb the whole of their funds still held by the government, so that nothing would remain to meet the charge for rations. He therefore proposed to the secretary of state that they should be relieved from payment of inland transport, and to this Earl Bathurst consented.

In the centre of the locations Sir Rufane Donkin selected a site for a village, which he intended to be a seat of magistracy. It was on the left bank of the Kowie river, about nine miles from the sea, and was a situation of considerable natural beauty. He caused building allotments to be laid out, some of which were granted to applicants free of charge, and others were sold. This place he named Bathurst, in honour of the secretary of state, and on the 23rd of May Captain Charles Trappes, of the 72nd regiment, was stationed there as provisional magistrate. Shortly afterwards a commencement was made with the erection of the necessary public buildings.

On the hill above the landing-place at Algoa Bay the acting governor erected a monument to the memory of his deceased wife. On the 6th of June he named the rising town upon the shore Port Elizabeth after her, of which notice was given in the *Gazette* of the 23rd. On the 25th of the same month he reached Capetown again.

Upon the withdrawal of the large party of Highland Scotch, the emigration commissioners selected other families in different parts of Great Britain, who embarked in seven vessels, of which four arrived towards the close of 1820 and two early in 1821. These immigrants were not very numerous, and all of them were located in Albany. The fate of those who left in the other vessel was extremely sad.

The *Abeona*, a transport of 328 tons burden, sailed from the Firth of Clyde on the 13th of October 1820. She had a crew of twenty-one officers and men, and there were on board a party of emigrants consisting of twenty-nine men, twenty-one women, and seventy-six children, under the leadership of Mr. William Russell, besides two men, three women, and nine children who had paid their passages, and Lieutenant Robert Mudge, the admiralty agent. On the 25th of November, in latitude 4° 30′ N., longitude 25° 30′ W., shortly after mid-day a fire broke out in the store-room, caused by the chief mate using a lighted candle when drawing off some spirits. The flames spread with such rapidity that they were immediately beyond control, and only three small boats could be got out. Into these forty-nine persons crowded, when they could contain no more. The boats remained by the burning ship until she disappeared. A little before daybreak next morning the survivors were picked up by a Portuguese vessel from Bahia, and were taken to Lisbon, where they arrived on the 20th of December. Of Mr. Russell's party twenty-one men, twenty women, and fifty-nine children perished, including himself and his family. Of the other passengers, one woman and four children, and of the ship's crew eight men, met the same fate. Of those who were saved, five men and one woman persisted in their wish to settle in South Africa, and were sent out some months later.

At the same time that emigrants were being sent from Great Britain and Ireland at the expense of the government, a number of persons proceeded to South Africa without any aid, on the assurance of the secretary of state that they would receive larger grants of land if they paid for their passages. Some of these settled in Capetown and its neighbourhood, being induced to do so by the prospect of a comfortable livelihood there, others went on to Albany. Altogether, nearly five thousand individuals of British or Irish birth became residents in the colony between March 1820 and May 1821. The cost of conveyance of those who

were sent out by the imperial government was £86,760 5*s.* 4*d.*

To provide more fully for the maintenance of order in the new settlement, on the 15th of September 1820 Sir Rufane Donkin issued a proclamation by which special heemraden with considerable authority could be appointed, and Messrs. Thomas Phillips, Duncan Campbell, and Miles Bowker were empowered to act in this capacity. This proclamation was followed on the 13th of October by another, by which from the date of assumption of duty by a landdrost the portion of the district of Uitenhage east of the Bushman's river, together with the tract of land between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, was created a separate district called Albany. The office of landdrost was offered to Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, who was then commandant of Simonstown, but illness prevented him from removing, and in March 1821 he died. The situation was then offered to Colonel Moncton, who declined it; and it was only on the 24th of May 1821 that it was filled by the appointment of Major James Jones, an officer on half pay who had recently arrived in the colony. On the 30th of May Major Jones was installed as landdrost and military commandant of the frontier, and Albany was severed from Uitenhage. Captain Trappes, the provisional magistrate at Bathurst, was now relieved of duty, but on the 4th of January 1822 he was appointed landdrost of Tulbagh in succession to Mr. Jan Hendrik Fischer, who retired. The office of deputy landdrost of Grahamstown, which had been filled since October 1819 by Captain Henry Somerset, was also abolished when Albany became a fully constituted district.

Throughout South Africa the wheat crops in 1820 were attacked by a kind of blight previously unknown in the country, and those in Albany were completely destroyed. This was a very severe blow to the settlers, who had expended their strength chiefly in attempting to produce corn, and who now found their labour fruitless. Under

these circumstances many of the mechanics evaded the regulations of the government to keep them on the ground, and made their way to other parts of the country where they could obtain profitable employment. The great majority of the settlers, however, remained on the locations, and it is indeed much to their credit that they did not lose heart altogether, but resolved to bear the disaster bravely and to persevere in the effort to make for themselves comfortable homes.

In June 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin again visited the eastern frontier. He found the immigrants in fairly good spirits, and making much greater progress in cultivating the ground than could have been expected from the previous occupations of most of them. Some had purchased a few working and breeding cattle, and had large gardens, with plenty of vegetables, pigs, and poultry. The majority were still of necessity provided with rations by the government, the meal for the purpose being brought from the western districts, where there was still corn left from the exceptionally good crop of 1819. Some of the parties had broken up, and were reorganised under other leaders; one of the largest had been abandoned by its head, Mr. Thomas Willson, who returned to England to pester the colonial office with his complaints and demands for compensation for his losses. Each member of this party now regarded himself as an independent settler, but the reverend Mr. Boardman was acting as a general director and was the medium of communication with the government. With the exception of the Scotch party at Baviaans' river, the large party under Mr. Sephton was the most thriving of them all. They had already built a neat little village, which they named Salem, where they had established a school, and where their clergyman, the reverend William Shaw, conducted services regularly.

The bar at the mouth of the Kowie river had been crossed frequently by a small fishing boat, and it was believed to be passable by sailing craft of light burden.

There was a fine sheet of deep water above the bar, and strong hopes were entertained that it would furnish a safe harbour and do away with the long land carriage to and from Port Elizabeth. The health of the settlers was remarkably good; there was hardly one who was not more robust and hearty than when in England. Since their arrival the deaths had not exceeded a dozen, and the births had been over a hundred.

The Royal African corps was at this time under orders to return to England to be disbanded. Sir Rufane Donkin thought he could utilise the best men in it as an advanced guard of the colony, by forming a settlement with them in the lower portion of the vacant territory east of the Fish river. It was Lord Charles Somerset's intention to keep the district between the Fish and Keiskama rivers unoccupied except by soldiers, to have it constantly patrolled, and thus to prevent depredations by the Xosas and illegal intercourse between the two races. This design was now set aside by Sir Rufane Donkin, who resolved to fill a portion of it with Europeans. It had been his intention to locate the large party expected from Scotland in the valleys at the sources of the Kat river, and the ground there was surveyed for the purpose; but the Highlanders changed their minds and remained at home, so that those beautiful and fertile valleys were still open. It was at the other end of the vacant district, however, that he now resolved to settle the discharged soldiers. At an interview with Gaika, after a short and friendly discussion that chief consented to his proposal.

On the 13th of June 1821 the acting governor entered into an agreement with Captains M. J. Sparks and R. Birch, Lieutenants A. Heddle, W. Cartwright, C. McCombie, and J. P. Sparks, Ensigns A. Matthewson, A. Chisholm, and C. Mackenzie, and Assistant-Surgeon R. Turnbull, officers of the Royal African corps, that to each of them should be granted a farm of two thousand morgen of land between the Beka and Fish rivers, free of charge for survey or title,

and of quitrent for ten years, on condition that they should engage among them at least sixty men of the corps as servants and occupy the ground personally. The servants were to be provided with rations for nine months, were to receive two months' pay from the 25th of June—the date of disbandment,—and each was to have a free grant of one hundred acres of ground at the end of three years' service, if he was an artificer fifty acres extra, if he should marry within three years fifty acres extra and twenty-five acres for each child. They were to be provided with arms and ammunition free of charge. No intoxicating liquor was to be sold within the settlement during the next three years, and neither men nor cattle were to cross the Beka.

On the same conditions, and with the approval of the officers, Mr. Benjamin Moodie, who brought out the Scotch mechanics in 1817, and who was then residing at Grootvadersbosch near the confluence of the Breede and Buffeljagts rivers, and his two brothers, Donald and John Dunbar Moodie, retired lieutenants of the navy and army, who had recently arrived in the colony, were to receive farms of two thousand morgen each. A little later three brothers Crause, retired officers who were among the settlers in the Zuurveld, entered into a similar agreement.

To the non-commissioned officers of the Royal African corps who had saved some money, an offer was made of grants of land from two to four hundred acres in extent, according to their means, if they would engage a few of the men. They were to have the same privileges of rations, pay, and arms as those who took service with the officers. Six non-commissioned officers, with eighteen private soldiers as their servants, accepted this offer.

In addition to the farms to be granted, a village was laid out, in which all except the servants had plots of ground four acres in extent given to them free of charge. This village Sir Rufane Donkin named Fredericksburg, in honour of the duke of York. The officers and seventy-eight discharged soldiers engaged as servants, together

with the non-commissioned officers and their servants, at once took possession of it, and commenced to build cottages and make gardens. A military post, garrisoned by thirty-three men of the Cape corps, was established close by to protect the settlement in its infancy.

Everything went on well for a few months, but on the 26th of October the landdrost Major Jones issued a notice that as many farms as were required would be surveyed, and then the ownership would be decided by lot. The officers had already selected the ground that they desired to have, but this notice prevented all cultivation except that of the plots in the village. Time went on, and no surveyor appeared. The two months' pay promised to the soldiers was also withheld, which gave great dissatisfaction to the non-commissioned officers' parties. Further, Mr. Benjamin Moodie, who was to have been vested with magisterial authority, changed his mind and remained at Grootvadersbosch, so that there were no means of preserving order at Fredericksburg, and many of the servants were disposed to be unruly. These causes combined made the prospects of the new settlement particularly gloomy at the close of the year 1821.

For some time after the arrival of the British settlers the Kaffirs gave no trouble, but in September 1821 a daring robbery took place. Forty-eight head of cattle were driven off from Mr. Smith's location, and an English boy who was herding them was murdered. Mr. Brownlee, the missionary and government agent at the Tyumie, reported that the robbery was committed by the people of Nambili, a petty captain of Ndlambe's faction, that the cattle had been taken from the robbers by Dushane, and that the matter had been made known to Gaika. Major Jones, with one hundred and fifty infantry, a detachment of the Cape corps, and twenty mounted burghers, then entered Kaffirland to recover the cattle or make reprisals, but on arriving at Nambili's kraal found it abandoned, so he was obliged to return empty-handed. Gaika was strongly suspected of

complicity with the robbers, and some time afterwards it was ascertained that several of the stolen cattle had been appropriated by him. He still professed, however, to be a friend of the colony, though it was recognised that no reliance could be placed on his word.

On the 20th of July 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin issued a proclamation for establishing periodical fairs at Fort Willshire. The method of trading with the Kaffirs by permitting small parties of them to visit Grahamstown was a failure, as they took nothing there except baskets and articles of trifling value, and since the war even this petty traffic had ceased. Sir Rufane Donkin's proclamation provided that, under supervision of government officials, the Xosas could obtain anything they wanted, except spirituous liquors and munitions of war. Licensed traders repaired to the ground adjoining the fort with waggons laden with goods. In the morning of the day appointed for the fair the Xosas were permitted to cross the Keiskama in parties under their chiefs, with their women carrying ivory, hides, and gum. The traders then made presents to the chiefs, and between them they fixed the relative value of everything to be bartered, before the common people were allowed to have any dealings. When these preliminaries were concluded, trade commenced, the chiefs keeping order among their followers and taking usually as a tax about half of what each one purchased.

But this could only meet to a very limited extent the desire for traffic, and now adventurers began to make their way far into Kaffirland, where an ox could be obtained for a few strings of beads or a crown's worth of bangles. Very stringent regulations were issued by the government against this trade, and all unauthorised persons were forbidden to cross the Fish river under severe penalties; but to no purpose. The annual fair at Fort Willshire was rapidly turned into a quarterly fair, then into a monthly fair, and next into a weekly market, under official supervision. Still, the illicit commerce was not checked. The gains were so

large that the number of persons engaged in it constantly increased, and in the course of a few years many of them acquired a considerable amount of wealth. Traffic of this nature was demoralising, but the government attempted to enforce the restrictive system until the close of 1830, when traders were freely licensed to enter Kaffirland.

In 1820 the commissioners of the admiralty proposed to establish an astronomical observatory at the Cape, and the design received the approval of the king in council. On the 12th of August 1821 the reverend Fearon Fallowes arrived in the colony as astronomer royal. The first observatory was a wooden structure in Capetown, which was only intended, however, to be used temporarily. In 1822 a site was selected on a knoll in the Cape flats, which could be seen from the shipping in the bay, and two years later authority was received from England to construct the necessary buildings. In 1827 they were occupied, though they were still unfinished. The establishment has continued to the present time to be maintained at the expense of the imperial government, and a great deal of very excellent scientific work has been performed by the talented men at the head of it.

In 1817 Dr. Samuel Bailey, who was then practising medicine in Capetown, made a proposal to the burgher senate to establish a hospital for merchant seamen, slaves, and poor people generally, on conditions which would make it partly a private and partly a public institution. The proposal was accepted, and the governor's approval having been obtained, a building was commenced. The burgher senate contributed a portion of the money required, on condition of having the right at any time to take over the institution at a fair valuation. In 1818 the hospital was opened. For about two years Dr. Bailey conducted it on his own account, when his resources being found insufficient for its proper maintenance, the burgher senate took possession of the building, and paid him £4,500 for his interest in t. The institution has ever since been in existence, though

in recent years used only for certain chronic and mental diseases. It is now known as the old Somerset hospital.

In 1819 the merchants of Capetown combined to establish a commercial exchange, and for the erection and management of the building chose a committee consisting of Messrs. Abraham Faure, Stephen Twycross, Andries Brink, John Bardwell Ebden, Antonio Chiappini, John Collison, and Daniel Dixon. The capital was raised in one hundred and fifty-eight shares of £37 10*s.* each, of which the government took twenty-five. On the 25th of August 1819 the north-eastern corner-stone of a large and handsome building on the parade ground, which was in use until recent years, when it was removed to provide a site for the present general post-office, was laid by Lord Charles Somerset with much ceremony, a great number of people being present. The troops were drawn up, the regimental bands were in attendance, and a salute was fired from the castle. After the stone was laid, the governor, the principal civil and military officers, and about two hundred of the leading people of the town and suburbs sat down to tiffin in a huge temporary tent erected close by. The hall was opened for use in 1821.

The knowledge of the natural history of South Africa was at this time greatly increased by the labours of M. Lalande, who was sent out by the government of France, and during the years 1819 and 1820 made a very large collection of animals. Among the specimens which he sent to Paris were some hundreds of previously undescribed insects.

In 1806 the three Roman Catholic clergymen then in Capetown—two military chaplains and a priest maintained by the authorities in Rome to minister to civilians—were required by Sir David Baird to leave the colony, and a construction was afterwards put upon Mr. De Mist's proclamation granting religious equality which its author had not intended it to bear. Under that proclamation no clergyman could perform service publicly without the governor's permission. Mr. De Mist's motive was to prevent improper

persons of any denomination from acting as clergymen, but the wording of the regulation was construed by the early English governors to mean that they could refuse to admit the ministers of any creed that they disliked.

In 1819, however, at the request of the right reverend E. Slater, titular bishop of Ruspa, who was about to proceed from England to Mauritius, Earl Bathurst consented to a clergyman of the Roman Catholic church being stationed in Capetown. On the first of January 1820 the bishop arrived, with the reverend P. Scully, who remained in the colony. His duties for more than a twelvemonth were confined almost entirely to the soldiers, but on the 17th of January 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin made him an allowance of a thousand rixdollars a year as a civil clergyman. Some months later he and his congregation resolved to build a church, when not only the principal civil servants and townspeople, but even the clergymen of other denominations subscribed to the fund, and the burgher senate approved of a site being granted free of charge. The place selected was off Harrington-street, where Trinity church—English episcopal—now stands. There, on the 28th of October 1822, the foundation-stone of a building was laid, which when completed was used by the Roman Catholics to worship in. When Lord Charles Somerset returned to the colony the stipend to the priest was withdrawn. In January 1826, however, Earl Bathurst sanctioned a salary of £100 a year being paid from the colonial treasury to a clergyman in Capetown, and also to one in Grahamstown whenever he could be obtained.

Practically, after 1820 there was political and civil equality for persons of every religious belief, though it was still vaguely held in theory that Roman Catholics could be excluded from civil offices by laws of England that were binding in South Africa. The doubt remained until January 1830, when an ordinance was issued, declaring Roman Catholics in the Cape Colony to have full civil rights, but imposing restrictions upon members of certain religious orders.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET, GOVERNOR, RESUMED DUTY 1ST DECEMBER 1821, EMBARKED FOR ENGLAND ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE 5TH MARCH 1826.

On the 30th of November 1821 Lord Charles Somerset reached South Africa again in the ship-of-war *Hyperion*. Just before he left England he married a daughter of Earl Poulett, a lady of very engaging manners and disposition, and she accompanied him on his return to the colony. He landed on the morning of the 1st of December in no friendly frame of mind towards Sir Rufane Donkin, who had overturned his frontier policy, offended his military pride, and quarrelled with his son.

The first of these offences was the formation of the settlement of Fredericksburg in territory that he intended to keep unoccupied. The second was even more keenly felt by Lord Charles Somerset. The acting governor found on the right bank of the Keiskama a fort with five bastions partly built, named Willshire. He stopped the work, giving as a reason that the structure was much too expensive for the requirements of a frontier post, and in its stead he caused a square barrack to be put up closer to the stream. The third offence was given through the governor's son. Captain Henry Somerset was acting as deputy landdrost of Grahamstown when the British settlers arrived, and to a considerable extent the task of locating them and providing for their wants was performed by him. The manner in which he carried out his duty won the regard of the immigrants, so that it was felt by himself and his friends as a slight when he was superseded. Shortly afterwards

he was appointed commandant of Simonstown, but this did not remove the ill feeling which he entertained, and when an opportunity occurred, he showed strong marks of disrespect to the acting governor. He was then reprimanded and forbidden to appear in Capetown. The consequence of all this was that Lord Charles Somerset on his return declined to meet Sir Rufane Donkin except in the colonial secretary's office, and as he entered government house by one door the late occupant left it by another.

Sir Rufane Donkin returned to England without an interview with Lord Charles, and was soon actively engaged in bringing the faults of the Cape government to notice. For several years the secretary of state was obliged to read and consider letters of complaint and charges of maladministration made on both sides, and was never able to come to a final decision concerning them. In the matter of Fort Willshire, Lord Charles caused an examination to be made by Major Holloway, a competent engineer officer, who sent in a report that Sir Rufane Donkin's barrack cost more money than would have been required for the completion of the original structure, that the position of the barrack was bad in a military point of view, as it was commanded by rifles from high ground on the other side of the river, and that it was too low and confined for the health and comfort of the garrison.

While Lord Charles Somerset was at home he was not unmindful of the wants of the colony, and in more than one way promoted its interests. He discussed with Earl Bathurst the means of providing clergymen for the vacant churches and of establishing good schools at the principal centres of population, and obtained the concurrence of the secretary of state in his plans. Clergymen could not be obtained in Holland to meet the needs of the colony, and besides it was considered expedient that the pulpits should be filled by men whose mother tongue was English, and whose affection for Great Britain was hereditary and strong. The Dutch reformed and the established church of Scotland were

identical in creed and nearly so in form of worship, the only difference being that the Dutch used a liturgy in the administration of the sacraments and observed a few festivals which the Scotch did not.

In July 1820 the reverend George Thom, clergyman of Caledon, went home on leave, and Lord Charles Somerset arranged with him to engage Scotch clergymen for the colonial church. He secured the services of the reverend Andrew Murray, who, after spending some months in Holland for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the Dutch language, arrived in South Africa in July 1822, and was stationed at Graaff-Reinet; and of the reverend Alexander Smith, who arrived in July 1823, and was stationed at Uitenhage in succession to Mr. Mol, who was transferred to Swellendam. Dr. Thom, as he had now become, also engaged the reverend William Ritchie Thomson, who was about to proceed to South Africa as an agent of the Glasgow missionary society, to enter the service of the Cape government instead, and assist Mr. Brownlee at the Tyumie. In November 1821 Mr. Thomson arrived, and began those labours as missionary and afterwards minister of the Dutch reformed church which made him one of the most venerated men in South Africa, and which ended only a short period before his death on the 4th of May 1891, at the advanced age of ninety-six years.

Dr. Thom also made arrangements with three students who were preparing for ordination — Messrs. Henry Sutherland, Colin Fraser, and George Morgan—that they should proceed to Holland and learn the Dutch language, preparatory to taking employment in South Africa. Upon their arrival, in September 1824 Mr. Sutherland became minister at Worcester; in December of the same year Mr. Fraser was appointed to Beaufort West in succession to Mr. Taylor, who was removed to Cradock in December 1823; and in January 1826 Mr. Morgan became minister at Somerset East. The clergymen thus introduced were men of talent and zeal, and very shortly acquired considerable

influence in the colonial church. The present districts of Murraysburg, Fraserburg, and Sutherland received their names in after years from three of them who ministered to the people there.

In order to prepare the colonists for coming changes, it was considered necessary by the secretary of state and the governor that schools should be established in which the English language should be taught by competent and respectable men. Dr. Thom was therefore directed to engage six qualified teachers in Scotland, at salaries ranging from £65 to £100 per annum, with free houses and gardens; and he made an excellent selection. These teachers returned to the colony with him, and upon their arrival in July 1822 were stationed at the principal villages. Mr. James Rose Innes, M.A., was appointed to Uitenhage, Mr. William Robertson to Graaff-Reinet, Mr. Archibald Brown, M.A., to Stellenbosch, Mr. William Dawson to George, Mr. James Rattray to Tulbagh, and Mr. Robert Blair to Caledon. In the schools thus established a good English education was offered to pupils free of charge, and religious instruction was not neglected. The bible was used daily, and the Heidelberg catechism was taught. The schoolmasters were allowed to receive fees for giving instruction in Latin.

In some of the villages hostility was shown to these schools for a considerable time by a section of the people, because instruction in them—except religious—was confined to the English and Latin languages. Many parents regarded them as instruments for destroying their mother tongue, and refused to allow their children to attend. But in other places, and especially where some of the inhabitants were English, the attendance was large, and upon the whole it is hardly possible to estimate too highly the advantage which the colony derived in an intellectual point of view from the establishment of free schools of a high class in so many centres of population.

Besides engaging the ministers and teachers here named, Dr. Thom made arrangements with a committee of Scotch

clergymen for sending out others as they should be needed. Two additional schoolmasters were required at once. In June 1823 Mr. E. Arnold arrived and was stationed at Swellendam, and in August of the same year Mr. Joseph Reid arrived and was appointed to Paarl.

Lord Charles Somerset on his return found the colony in a state of great depression. After 1815 the island of St. Helena afforded an excellent market for Cape produce, as all the meat, flour, peas, beans, dried fruit, brandy, and common wine required for the large garrison and the ships of war maintained for the purpose of guarding the captive emperor Napoleon were procured here. But upon the death of Napoleon, the naval and military establishment at St. Helena was withdrawn, and that market for produce disappeared. Only a few ships were kept now on the Cape station, and the garrison on the peace establishment did not exceed two thousand five hundred men. The paper money had sunk in value until the rate of exchange was only one shilling and nine pence for a paper rixdollar. There were new and peremptory demands upon the treasury, and the revenue was not keeping pace with the enlarged expenditure.

The British settlement in Albany was in a grievous condition. Wheat, though not so exclusively sown as in 1820, was yet the principal crop in 1821, and it had again entirely failed from blight. The men who had invested their little capitals in agriculture were reduced to great distress, and only their unconquerable perseverance was left to sustain them. Onlookers pronounced the settlement an absolute failure, and predicted that the Zuurveld would soon again be a desert waste, but among those who had gone there to make homes for their children were many who were determined that it should not be so. From the time of their arrival to the 30th of September 1821 full rations, and from the 30th of September to the 31st of December half rations, were supplied to all who needed them. Some, however, who could maintain themselves declined this aid. Still, at the close of 1821, when the accounts were made up,

it was found that the settlers as a whole were indebted for rations 210,470 rixdollars, or £18,416 2*s.* 6*d.* more than the two-thirds of their deposit money still kept as security for payment.

With the stoppage of rations at the end of 1821, a large number of settlers of the working class abandoned the locations, and made their way to Capetown, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, and the various villages of the eastern districts, where they were able to maintain themselves without difficulty. The government sent a thousand bags of rice to be distributed in small quantities to the most necessitous free of charge, but this could only relieve want, not prevent dispersion. There were a few cases where sickness or accidents kept working people in extreme poverty, but even at this time of distress in the locations men accustomed to manual labour were in general independent of aid, as they could obtain employment elsewhere, and it was chiefly upon those who could not toil and whose servants had abandoned them that the storm of adversity fell heaviest.

The settlers were prohibited from employing slaves, as by an order of Earl Bathurst issued in June 1821 it was to be made a condition in all grants of land in Albany and in all future grants in the territory north of Albany that free labour only was to be used. Hottentots were not to be had, and thus such men as army officers and others of the educated class, whose pecuniary means were now wholly or almost exhausted, were nearly helpless on their ground. Under such circumstances, it is surprising indeed that they did not entirely lose heart.

It was not only in Albany that the wheat crop of 1821 was a failure: in the south-western districts a very small quantity was gathered. It became necessary to mix barley with it in grinding, in order to eke out the supply of bread. On the 8th of February 1822 a proclamation was issued by the governor reducing the duty on wheat and flour brought in foreign ships from ten to three per cent of the value

during the next ten months and whenever thereafter the price of Cape wheat should be over sixteen rixdollars a muid of one hundred and eighty Dutch pounds. By the coloured people rice was substituted for bread to a large extent, so that the time of scarcity passed by without any actual want, though not without much discomfort. Under these circumstances it was impossible to send flour to the eastern districts, where for many months bread was almost unobtainable.

The first acts of the governor after his return tended to increase the discontent in Albany. Earl Bathurst had disapproved of the appointment by Sir Rufane Donkin of Major Jones as landdrost, as he was without colonial experience, and Lord Charles Somerset removed him from office and appointed Mr. Harry Rivers, who was much less popular, to succeed him. Two months later, on the 8th of February 1822, he issued a proclamation making Grahamstown the seat of magistracy of the district. Time has proved that Grahamstown had advantages superior to those of Bathurst, but when the change was made the majority of the settlers regarded it as a serious grievance. The interests of some of them were affected by it, and they were alarmed on finding that the acts of one governor could be overturned at the will of another. A military post that had been established at Bathurst was also withdrawn, when the growth of the village at once ceased, and for many years it remained a mere hamlet.

Fredericksburg, from the causes already related, was in a tottering condition, and in all probability the residents there would soon have dispersed under any circumstances. The final blow to its existence was struck on the 28th of December 1821, when an order was issued for the removal of the detachment of the Cape corps. The servants at once began to desert, some men of the non-commissioned officers' parties commenced an illicit traffic with the Kaffirs, others opened a trade in brandy, and soon all order was at an end. The officers, seeing that they would shortly be without

labourers and exposed to attack by the Kaffirs, abandoned the village. A return made by the landdrost on the 16th of April 1822 shows that only Lieutenants Donald and John Dunbar Moodie, Ensign Mackenzie, five servants, and two men of the non-commissioned officers' parties were left. These were of course obliged to retire also, and immediately afterwards the cottages were destroyed by a band of marauders. Thus Fredericksburg passed out of existence, and the territory between the Fish river and the Keiskama was once more unoccupied except by the soldiers at Fort Willshire.

In the general distress to which they were now reduced, the settlers who remained on the locations attributed many of the evils from which they were suffering to the arbitrary conduct of the governor, and drew a sharp comparison between the coldness of their treatment by him and the sympathy which Sir Rufane Donkin had always expressed for them. They proposed to hold meetings to discuss matters, but were met by a proclamation, issued by Lord Charles on the 24th of May 1822, declaring such meetings illegal, subjecting persons attending them to severe punishment, and announcing that he had instructed the local authorities to arrest and bring to trial any persons who should disregard this warning. He declared at the same time that he would take every opportunity of redressing real grievances and of promoting the general and individual welfare of the settlers, but that it was his firm determination to put down all attempts to disturb the public peace, either by inflammatory or libellous writings or by any other measures. The settlers did not venture to defy the government, and so no meetings were held; but from this date complaints of the tyranny to which they were subjected were frequently sent to England, and attracted much attention there.

One proclamation, however, issued by the governor at this time gave much satisfaction to the recent immigrants. There is a difference of opinion among people as to whether

parents should be able to bequeath the whole of their property as they choose, or whether they should be obliged to leave a portion of it to each of their children. Some of the British settlers objected strongly to the colonial law on this matter, and by direction of Earl Bathurst, on the 12th of July 1822 a proclamation was issued by Lord Charles Somerset, granting to natural-born subjects of the United Kingdom settling in the colony, and married before their arrival, the right of devising property according to the English law. But if they married in the colony, without an antenuptial contract, they became subject to the colonial law, which gives to husband and wife equal rights, and at that time permitted testamentary disposition of only a portion of the property of either man or woman, unless there were no natural heirs. The law of inheritance in cases where no will was made was not affected by the proclamation of July 1822, property of people born and married in Great Britain and dying intestate in the colony being divided equally among the children.

Another proclamation of almost the same date had as its object the substitution of English instead of Dutch as the official language of the colony. By this time the only civil servants who were not familiar with English were a few of the oldest who were becoming unfit for duty. Sir John Cradock had made a rule that no one should be appointed to any office unless he was conversant with that language, and this regulation had been followed ever since. In point of fact, much of the official correspondence was already in English. The schools recently established made it easier now than in earlier times for the sons of colonists to qualify themselves for the civil service, so that as far as the public offices were concerned the change could be made without difficulty or hardship. This seems to have been regarded by the authorities in England as all that was necessary to prevent a feeling of discontent, and they certainly did not realise how strongly the Dutch colonists were attached to their mother tongue, or how deeply they would be affected

by being compelled to use another in their transactions with government.

By order of Earl Bathurst, on the 5th of July 1822 a proclamation was issued by Lord Charles Somerset, announcing that after the 1st of January 1823 all documents issued from the office of the secretary to government, after the 1st of January 1825 all documents issued from the other public offices except the courts of justice, and after the 1st of January 1827 all proceedings in the supreme and inferior courts of law should be exclusively in the English language. On the 30th of January 1824 another proclamation was issued, announcing that the English language would be exclusively used in judicial acts and proceedings in the district of Albany after the 1st of March of that year. The period first named was also shortened for the district of Simonstown, where Dutch was seldom spoken.

So far as Albany and Simonstown were concerned, no objection was raised by anyone to the exclusive use of the English language in the courts of law; but in the other districts, where Dutch was spoken by the great majority of the people, it was regarded as a very serious grievance. Many representations were made on the subject, but without success, except that on the 13th of December 1826 that part of the proclamation of the 5th of July 1822 which referred to courts of justice was withdrawn, and until 1828 it remained lawful to use either Dutch or English in judicial proceedings. In all other respects the proclamation was enforced, and after the dates named English became the official language of the colony, with the exception that important notices were published in the *Gazette* in both languages.

At this time the South African public library, one of the most useful institutions in Capetown, came into existence. In March 1818 Lord Charles Somerset imposed a tax of one rixdollar upon every cask of wine and spirits entering Capetown, as a fee for gauging, and announced that the proceeds would be devoted to the establishment and main-

tenance of a public library. As the money was received by the collector, it was deposited in the bank to the credit of a committee consisting of the colonial secretary, the chief justice, the fiscal, and the senior ministers of the Dutch reformed, Lutheran, and English episcopal churches. The committee purchased books, and made the necessary arrangements for the opening and management of the institution.

There was a portion of the old slave lodge that had not yet been converted into public offices, and the governor gave the committee permission to make use of it. In September 1820 a loan of thirteen thousand seven hundred rixdollars was obtained without interest from what was termed the private fund of the orphan chamber, and the money was devoted to rebuilding and repairing the apartments. Practically this loan was equivalent to a grant. From very early times funds had accumulated in the orphan chamber from interest not being drawn by heirs when due, and in its turn producing interest again. This money was regarded as a reserve fund affording the most ample security to persons whose estates were under control of the orphan chamber; and as it was constantly increasing, various sums were lent from it to churches and charitable institutions without interest, the capital being legally subject to be recalled if necessary, which was not likely to be the case.

In January 1822 the library was opened to the public. Messrs. Harmse and Hanson were the first librarians, but after a short time Mr. Thomas Pringle received the appointment, and upon his resignation in May 1824 Mr. A. J. Jardine succeeded to the post. Several valuable donations were made by residents in Capetown, and shortly after the establishment of the new library the books bequeathed to the colony by Mr. Van Dessin, and which had been during sixty-two years under the care of the consistory of the Dutch reformed church, were placed in it by an agreement with the consistory that they were to be kept separate from the others and remain under general control of the perpetual trustees named in the donor's will.

In this manner the South African public library was apparently firmly established as a library of reference. But it had many difficulties to encounter. Owing to the necessities of the government, in July 1825 the gauging fees were diverted to the colonial treasury, and from them a fixed sum of £300 a year was thereafter paid to three trustees appointed by the governor to take the place of the larger committee.

Next followed the loss of even that small grant. The wine trade became so depressed that it was necessary to provide all possible relief for its producers, and in December 1827 the gauging tax was repealed. By order of the secretary of state, a sum of £921 was paid to the trustees, being the amount derived from the gauging tax over and above the £300 a year which they had been receiving, and with that as a capital to work upon they appealed to the public for subscriptions.

Just at this time another difficulty occurred. The government required the rooms in the public buildings, and the library was removed to a wing of the commercial exchange. The trustees understood that the rent would be paid in perpetuity from the colonial treasury, as it was for a short time; but the pressure upon the treasury was so great that the payment was soon discontinued. Meanwhile the appeal for subscriptions had been fairly successful, and at a public meeting held on the 31st of March 1829 resolutions were adopted in favour of the management being vested in an elective committee, so, with the view of making the institution more popular, on the 3rd of February 1830 an ordinance was issued, substituting for the trustees appointed by the governor a committee of nine persons to be chosen by yearly subscribers.

The institution now assumed the double character of a library of reference and a circulating library, a combination forced upon it by necessity. From the government no aid was to be had; but the new committee pleaded so forcibly its right to compensation for the amount lent by the orphan

chamber and expended in preparing rooms then used for the public service, that in 1832 twenty of the shares owned by the government in the commercial exchange were transferred to the library, and shortly afterwards a house and garden that had been occupied by the teacher of a government school were likewise made over to the committee to satisfy the claim. From that date the library depended for many years upon subscriptions. On the 25th of July 1836 an ordinance was issued, which did little more than recognise matters as they existed, and under it the institution is still conducted, though for some time past it has received liberal aid from the public treasury and the fine building in which the books are kept was erected for the purpose by the government. At various times the library has received valuable donations of books, chief among which was a magnificent gift by Governor Sir George Grey of several thousand volumes, including many extremely rare.

In 1823 a museum—chiefly of specimens of South African animals—was founded by Dr. Andrew Smith, a surgeon in the army and an enthusiastic naturalist. In June 1825 this museum was taken over by the government, a couple of rooms adjoining the public library were allotted to it, Dr. Smith was appointed superintendent, and a grant of £100 a year was made for its support. This trifling aid, however, was disallowed by Earl Bathurst, on account of the financial condition of the colony, and the institution then rested upon the energy and industry of its founder. Under his care it became of sufficient importance to attract the attention of naturalists who visited the country, but ten or twelve years later, after Dr. Smith left the colony, the collection was allowed to fall into such decay that when the museum now in existence was established, not more than five or six animals were worth preserving, and that only until better specimens could be procured.

A great storm accompanied by a very heavy fall of rain, which lasted from the 19th to the 24th of July 1822, caused extensive damage to the buildings and cultivated lands all

over the south-western part of the colony. It was feared at first that the destruction of property was much greater than really was the case, and the governor caused two hundred thousand paper rixdollars to be stamped, which was offered on loan to the sufferers through the authorities of the districts in which they lived. Major Josias Cloete was sent in all haste to England to represent to Earl Bathurst more powerfully than could be done in writing the appalling consequences of the storm, and to endeavour to raise a loan of money. He was to state that all over the western districts public and private buildings, roads, vineyards, gardens, and cultivated lands were destroyed; that eight vessels out of sixteen at ancher in Table Bay were wrecked, happily with a loss of only three lives; and that help was immediately and urgently needed.

Upon these representations the British government agreed to lend the colony £125,000 at five per cent yearly interest, and Lord Charles Somerset was authorised to draw for that amount at thirty days after sight. But before this was known in Capetown it was ascertained that the first reports of damages were greatly exaggerated, and few applications for loans were sent in, so the governor did not then draw for the money.

The public buildings at Tulbagh were supposed to have been irreparably damaged by the storm, and in October 1822 the governor on this account abolished the sub-drostdy of Worcester and removed the landdrost of Tulbagh to that village. In truth, however, the principal building at Tulbagh was hardly damaged at all, and it is standing to the present day. That Worcester was the better site for the drostdy is unquestionable, but the vested interests of so many persons were affected by the removal of the magistracy from Tulbagh that much discontent was created. This was increased when in February 1823 a tax on slaves was levied in the district to meet part of the cost of the erection of new buildings at Worcester, though it was done with the consent of the board of landdrost and heemraden. The old

drostdy and a farm which the landdrost had been allowed to use were sold, and the proceeds were devoted to the same purpose. In January 1823 the erection of the large drostdy building at Worcester was commenced. On the 8th of November 1822 a notice was issued changing the name of the district from Tulbagh to Worcester, and on the 5th of March 1824 that portion west of a line from the end of Piketberg to Verloren Vlei was cut off and added to the district of the Cape.

In October 1822 as a measure of retrenchment Lord Charles Somerset abolished the sub-drostdy of Caledon, and transferred the duties of that magistracy to the officials at Swellendam.

The Kaffirs were at this time causing a great deal of trouble. A few of the cattle stolen from Mr. Smith's party had been restored by Gaika, and Botumane had delivered one of the murderers of the boy to the officer commanding at Fort Willshire. As the prisoner admitted his guilt, the governor resolved that Gaika should be required to punish him with death, and in March 1822 Lieutenant-Colonel H. Maurice Scott, of the 6th regiment, who was then commandant of the troops on the frontier, proceeded to that chief's kraal in the Tyumie valley with a strong force guarding the culprit. Gaika was most reluctant, and for some time positively refused to comply with the demand, but upon the soldiers being ordered to get their muskets ready, he was terrified and issued a hasty command that the man should be hanged, which was immediately carried out.

On the 16th of January 1822 Makoma, Gaika's right-hand son, who for some unknown reason had recently been permitted to make a kraal near one of the sources of the Kat river, attacked the people at the mission station in the Tyumie valley, and drove off all their cattle, two hundred and seventy-four in number. This was done because one of the residents at the station had returned to his former employer in the colony two stolen horses which he happened to see at the young chief's kraal. The missionaries reported

the circumstance to the officer commanding at Fort Willshire, and Captain Aitcheson with eighty soldiers was sent to demand redress. On the 18th of January Captain Aitcheson had a conference with Gaika, who at first maintained that he had a right to do as he pleased in his own country, but upon being informed that Messrs. Brownlee and Thomson as government agents were under the governor's protection, he promised to restore the cattle before sunset the next day. The officer, depending on this engagement, then returned to Fort Willshire.

In all cases when a herd of cattle is stolen by Kaffirs, some are immediately slaughtered to furnish a feast. A chief then who is obliged to make restitution is under the necessity of collecting an equivalent in value, which usually takes some time. The next day passed, and some of Mr. Brownlee's own cattle were restored, but a month later, though remonstrances were frequently made to Gaika, seventy-three head were still wanting. Lord Charles Somerset then determined to be trifled with no longer. On the 22nd of February he issued instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott to cause the chief to be seized and detained until full restitution was made.

To effect this, a party of infantry was sent out quietly from Fort Willshire at night to occupy a position where they could support the cavalry in case of need. Captain Stuart with a hundred horsemen then rode to Gaika's kraal, which he reached about an hour before dawn. The alarm was given, however, by the clattering of the horses over the stones and the barking of the dogs, and though the party rode in at full gallop the chief had time to rush out of his hut and make his escape. Captain Stuart was not molested, and as soon as he ascertained that he had failed in his object he returned to Fort Willshire. This was within a few days after the execution of the murderer of the English boy. Gaika now moved his residence some fifteen miles to the eastward, and as much as possible avoided intercourse with the missionaries. He still professed a strong desire to

preserve peace and friendship with the colony, and within two or three weeks restored all the missing cattle, but from this time onward robberies were incessant.

In September 1822 a party of Dutch farmers of the Baviaans' river, who were exasperated by their losses, applied for assistance to the military officer commanding on the frontier; but without waiting for an answer, under the leadership of Fieldcornet Cornelis van der Nest, made a raid upon Makoma's kraal to recover cattle stolen from them or to seize an equivalent. They got possession of a herd, which they drove off, though the Kaffirs menaced them with vengeance, and followed them closely on their retreat. When they arrived at the Koonap, they found themselves under the necessity of abandoning the cattle, as they were unable to drive them farther, and expected every moment to be attacked. This failure of the farmers to accomplish their purpose encouraged the Xosas to continue their depredations in that direction, where there was no military force to check them.

Instead of confining the legitimate trade with the Kaffirs to the fairs at Fort Willshire, Colonel Scott permitted little parties to come occasionally to the locations in Albany, nearest a place where red ochre was found, and tried to barter ivory from them there in exchange for ochre, an article much in demand by the men for colouring their persons. Very little ivory was obtained by the government agents from the trading parties, but a great impetus was given to the clandestine traffic carried on by unscrupulous individuals. In August 1822 a dispute arose between a party of Kaffirs and two servants of a man named Thomas Mahony, who were trading with them, when the white men were killed. Again, in May 1823 a patrol came suddenly upon a party that was selling cattle to a man named John Stubbs, and seized the cattle and the merchandise that was being exchanged for them. The Kaffirs, thinking they had been betrayed by Stubbs, murdered him in revenge.

In the meantime other captains with their clans were permitted to follow Makoma to the upper valleys of the Kat river and make kraals there, though Gaika himself was refused that privilege when he applied for it. The matter was not reported to the secretary of state, probably because it could not be reconciled with the governor's avowed policy of keeping the territory between the old frontier and the line of 1819 altogether unoccupied except by soldiers. To abstain from stealing cattle when an opportunity occurred was not in the nature of a Kaffir any more than it was in the nature of a Scotch Highlander in olden times, and the British settlers were particularly exposed to the robbers. Those who remained upon their ground were beginning to see that by cattle-rearing they might obtain a comfortable living, and in 1822 and 1823 many hundreds of oxen and cows were purchased and brought into the pastures of Albany. But often a man who in the evening looked with satisfaction upon a little herd rose the next morning to find every hoof gone, and only a spoor leading always in one direction. Makoma was remonstrated with, and made various excuses and promises, usually trying to throw the blame upon others.

The European soldiers that could be spared for service on the frontier were too few in number to do more than provide garrisons for Grahamstown, Fort Willshire, and Fort Beaufort, so Lord Charles Somerset had no other resource than to propose to Earl Bathurst the enrolment of the British settlers as a defensive force and the addition of two troops to the cavalry of the Cape corps, thus enlarging that regiment to two hundred and sixty cavalry and two hundred and fifty infantry. On the 15th of March 1823 the secretary of state approved of the enlargement of the Hottentot regiment, then commanded by Colonel G. S. Fraser, who succeeded Colonel Scott as commandant of the frontier, and in April of the same year the settlers were enrolled in a body termed the Albany levy, which consisted of two troops of cavalry and five companies of infantry, supplied

with arms and ammunition by the government, and commanded and drilled by men who had once been in the regular army.

On the 19th of October 1823 Colonel Fraser died, when Major Henry Somerset succeeded to the command of the Cape regiment and of the whole military force on the frontier. Thefts had of late been increasing, so the governor decided to retaliate once more.

Two hundred well-mounted burghers were quietly assembled, and the commandant was instructed with them and the cavalry of the Cape regiment to fall upon the robbers suddenly, and take compensation for the stolen cattle. A hundred of the Hottentot infantry were to follow as rapidly as possible, to support the expedition in case of need.

At daybreak on the 5th of December 1823 the commando, after a forced march of twenty-two hours, surprised Makoma's kraals at the Kat river, and seized seven thousand head of horned cattle. Though the Kaffirs were unprepared, they offered such resistance that it was necessary to fire a few shots at them, and two or three were wounded. No one belonging to the expedition was hurt. The cattle were driven to a military post established farther down the Kat river a few months previously, named Fort Beaufort, where most of those who had suffered from depredations were compensated, after which five thousand two hundred and twenty-four head were restored to Makoma. That chief and his subordinate captains very humbly asked forgiveness for the events that led to the reprisal, and promised to keep their people from stealing in future. Why they were not driven out of the ceded territory when so favourable an opportunity presented itself was never explained by either Lord Charles Somerset or his son.

After this for some time there were hardly any thefts. Colonel Somerset, who knew every hiding-place along the border, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the habits

of the people he had to deal with, kept such a vigilant guard that the farmers, Dutch and English alike, felt themselves comparatively secure.

Though the colony at this time was suffering from great depression in agriculture and commerce, and the public revenue was unequal to the expenditure, some progress was visible. The breed of horses had been greatly improved, chiefly by high-class stock imported by the governor at a considerable loss to himself, and many of these animals were sent yearly to Mauritius and India. To a smaller extent other domestic animals had been improved by stock introduced by the government at the public expense, and kept for breeding purposes at the Somerset farm and at Groote Post.

There was now a regular weekly mail between all the seats of magistracy, conveyed, according to circumstances, either in light spring carts or on horseback.

In 1820 the erection of the first lighthouse on the South African coast was commenced at Green Point, on the shore of Table Bay, by order of Sir Rufane Donkin. The building was completed early in 1824, and the light—a double one from two lanterns—was first exhibited on the 12th of April of that year.

In 1824 a road was opened through the first range of mountains, at the pass behind French Hoek. It was commenced by the board of landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch, but after some progress had been made, it was found to be too large a work to be completed at the cost of the district treasury. There were in the colony about a hundred and fifty men of the late Royal African corps who, owing to their character, it was not considered advisable either to send back to England or to discharge in South Africa. For the purpose of keeping them under military restraint, they were attached to the 72nd regiment, and were subsisted as if they belonged to that corps until a couple of years later when they were formed into two companies and sent to Sierra Leone, but in the interval they were not provided with uniforms nor required to perform duty as soldiers.

Lord Charles Somerset resolved to make use of these men in completing the road through the French Hoek pass, which could thus be done at a trifling expense. Major Holloway, of the royal engineers, prepared the plans, and Lieutenant Mudge, of the same corps, superintended the work. On the 4th of February 1823 it was commenced by the soldiers, and at the end of 1824 it was open for waggon traffic, though it was not then fully completed. The cost to the colonial treasury of this fine road, winding through a pass more than six miles in length, with numerous bridges and supporting walls of masonry, was only £8,375. It opened direct communication between Capetown and Worcester, and shortened the journey to Graaff-Reinet by about forty miles. It is still used, but has lost much of its early importance since the opening of the roads over Sir Lowry's pass and through Bain's kloof, and especially since the construction of a railway through the Tulbagh kloof.

The great demand for labour in Capetown and its neighbourhood tempted Mr. John Ingram, the head of one of the Irish parties of 1820, to introduce a number of working people as a commercial speculation. He returned to Europe, and in February 1823 entered into an arrangement with Earl Bathurst, in which he undertook to convey to South Africa fifty persons without any aid, and two hundred men, fifty women, and one hundred children, for each of whom he was to receive £14 as a grant towards the cost of passage. The expense of conveyance of each of the emigrants of 1820 was £24 10*s.* 3*d.*, so that it was assumed he would be obliged to lay out at least £10 on every individual. The whole of the persons to be taken out by Mr. Ingram were to be indentured to him for three years, and he was to be at liberty to sell the indentures in Capetown.

From the imperial government he received the £4,900 agreed upon, and having chartered the ship *Barossa*, he engaged the requisite number of emigrants at Cork, where there were at the time a large number of destitute people without any prospect of obtaining employment. A good many

of them, however, changed their minds and managed to get away from the *Barossa* before she sailed, so that on her arrival in Table Bay Mr. Ingram had with him only eleven members of his own family, and one hundred and seventy-six men, fifty-nine women, and one hundred and one children as indentured servants. Some of these people turned out badly, and gave a great deal of trouble to the guardians of the law, but others, who were steady and industrious, speedily improved their condition. There was no difficulty in obtaining employment at high wages. This was the last state-aided emigration to South Africa for many years, but individuals, chiefly men engaged in commerce, frequently arrived and settled in Capetown or Port Elizabeth. Civil servants also sent out from England seldom returned, and clergymen and lay missionaries of many societies helped to increase the European population.

In May 1823 there remained on the locations of the British settlers in Albany four hundred and thirty-eight men, two hundred and ninety-eight women, and eight hundred and forty-three children. A large proportion of the heads of families consisted of men unaccustomed when in Europe to toil with their hands, and who were unable to leave their ground had they desired to do so. Their last crops had been moderately good, except the wheat, which was partly destroyed by rust. But by this time they had learned what could be cultivated to most advantage, and had come to know that cattle-breeding was the most profitable branch of industry they could take in hand. The time had now arrived when they were to receive titles to their ground, and in all deserving instances the grants were greatly enlarged, so that they were enabled to engage in pastoral pursuits. The yearly quitrent was fixed at nine pence for every hundred acres.

The amount due for rations, seed, and implements, in excess of the two-thirds of the deposit money, was still claimed by the government as a debt, but in August 1825 Earl Bathurst directed that they should be relieved from payment of it.

And before the 1st of January 1826 they were not required to pay any district taxes.

In 1823 the chief complaint of the settlers who remained on the locations was want of labourers. Nearly a thousand white men—drawn from English towns and factories—had abandoned farming through fear of starvation if they persisted in it, while at the same time there was a constant demand for working people, and high wages were offered in vain. The extent of the demand was shown at a little later date by a fruitless effort that was made to induce the imperial government to assist working people to come to the colony. A list of British settlers who guaranteed to provide employment for three years was made out, and showed a want of seven hundred and eighty labourers —men, women, and serviceable boys and girls—to whom wages were offered averaging twenty shillings a month, together with food and lodging.

In October 1823 the eastern districts were devastated by a flood such as had never before been known in that part of the colony. For days together rain fell as in ordinary thunder-storms, every rill became a foaming torrent, and the rivers, overflowing their banks, rolled down to the sea in great volumes of discoloured water. The British settlers who still remained on their locations in Albany, having never experienced anything of the kind before, had built their cottages and made their gardens on the low-lying lands along the streamlets which course through the district. When the flood came, cottages, gardens, orchards, and cornfields were all swept away. Many of the poor people escaped with nothing but their lives and the clothing they had on. In some places even the ground loosened by the plough or the spade disappeared, leaving the barren subsoil bare.

By this misfortune many families were reduced to the last stage of distress. In 1820 a few charitable persons united in a relief committee to assist sick and infirm immigrants, and about £600 was collected and distributed; but as the need for aid increased, a society was formed in Capetown purposely to receive and disburse subscriptions to what was called the

settlers' fund. This society was still in existence, and there was a small amount of money available for immediate use. An appeal for help was made to the benevolent in England and in India, and in course of time a sum of about £10,000 was collected in different parts of the world, which was laid out in relieving the unfortunate people.

The tide of adversity against which the settlers who remained on the locations had struggled so long now turned. In May 1824 Mr. William Hayward was appointed a special commissioner to settle disputes among them, to investigate their needs, and to advise what could be done to relieve them. On the 28th of January 1825 Lord Charles Somerset left Capetown to visit the frontier and act upon Mr. Hayward's reports, which recommended further extensions of the farms of a good many individuals. On the 6th of February he arrived in Grahamstown, and set about rectifying matters without delay.

Mr. Rivers, having become very unpopular with the settlers, the governor removed him to Swellendam, and appointed in his stead as landdrost of Albany Captain William Bolden Dundas, of the royal artillery.

The colony had recently been invaded by a number of starving Betshuana, who had escaped when their tribes were destroyed in the wars of extermination then carried on by different divisions of Bantu in the territory between the Orange and Zambesi rivers. The government provided for some of these refugees, by having them apprenticed for seven years to such settlers as needed their services. They could only perform the roughest kind of labour, but as cattle-herds they were very useful, and their maintenance cost but little. To some extent, therefore, they supplied the most pressing want of the Albany farmers.

In this tour the governor visited the mouth of the Kowie river, which at the request of the residents in the neighbourhood he named Port Frances, in honour of the wife of his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset. Here he stationed Lieutenant Donald Moodie as magistrate, with a salary of £90 a year.

Ever since the 9th of November 1821, when for the first time the Kowie river was entered by a vessel—the little coasting schooner *Elizabeth*, belonging to Mr. Henry Nourse—great hopes were entertained by the settlers that this port would quickly become a place of large trade. In 1823 and 1824 the government caused three lighters to be built for the purpose of conveying goods over the bar from and to vessels lying at anchor outside; but the quantity of produce to be sent away was so small that the cost of the boating establishment could not be met. As a port, therefore, the place could not be considered as thriving.

At Port Elizabeth the governor directed Captain Evatt, commandant at Fort Frederick, to act as resident magistrate, and allowed him the same salary as Lieutenant Moodie. The powers of these magistrates were defined in a proclamation issued on the 8th of April, after the governor's return to Capetown. They could try civil cases under the value of £7 10*s*., and in criminal cases could sentence to six months' imprisonment or a fine of £7 10*s*. Their jurisdiction was limited to the townships.

Port Elizabeth was at this time rapidly becoming a place of importance, though it was as yet only frequented by coasting vessels. In July 1826 custom-houses were first established here and at Port Frances, and direct trade with England commenced.

Without any formal proclamation, the northern boundary of the colony was greatly extended during the government of Lord Charles Somerset. Farmers had land assigned to them in the vacant country beyond the old line, and the government followed them, just as in the days of the Dutch East India Company. When the district of Beaufort was created, its limits were so defined as to include a large tract of land north of the Zak river. In September 1820 Landdrost Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, recommended to the government that the Orange as far down as the junction of the Seacow river, and thence the desert country extending to the Atlantic ocean, should be declared the northern boundary; and he advised that a

commission should be sent to inspect that line and prepare a map.

On the 25th of April 1821, in a reply from the colonial office Landdrost Stockenstrom was informed that his recommendation of a commission to inspect the country was approved of; and by the directions given for the location of applicants for farms, the Orange down to the junction of the Seacow river was practically made the boundary, though it was not formally so declared. Shortly after this, Sir Rufane Donkin visited the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, and left a memorandum, dated the 20th of June 1821, in which he expressed an opinion that the proposed line should be adopted, but that it ought to be carefully inspected by the landdrost and an engineer officer before a proclamation was issued.

On the 17th of January 1822 Lieutenant Bonamy, of the 6th regiment of infantry, was attached to the engineer department, and was directed to proceed to Graaff-Reinet, to aid the landdrost in the inspection of a north-eastern and northern boundary line, and to frame a map of that part of the colony. These instructions were acted upon without the least delay. In March of the same year Messrs. Bonamy and Stockenstrom reported that they had fixed upon the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers and the Stormberg spruit on the north-east. On the north they had inspected the Orange from the junction of the Stormberg spruit to a little below the junction of the Seacow river. Having proceeded so far, Landdrost Stockenstrom found himself obliged to return to the drostdy; so Lieutenant Bonamy was left to make a rough survey of the country they had gone over so rapidly, and to frame a map of it, after which the inspection farther westward would be resumed.

In August 1824 Messrs. Bonamy and Stockenstrom completed their inspection from the point where they had left off seventeen months before. The names of the various ridges which they recommended as the new boundary have nearly all been changed in recent years, but the line followed

the Orange river about as far down as to longitude 24° 20′, then it turned in a direction almost straight to the Pramberg, and thence it formed an irregular curve cutting the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers and continuing to the mouth of the Buffalo river on the shore of the Atlantic.

On the 9th of September 1824 the boundary thus fixed upon was approved of in a letter from the colonial office to the landdrost, and though it was never formally proclaimed, the government thereafter exercised full control within it.

Between 1819 and 1825 several military officers were engaged upon a rough survey of the colony, under direction of Major Holloway, of the royal engineers. Including the work of Lieutenant Bonamy, about ten thousand square miles were completed, at a cost to the colony of only £1,100, but the survey was then stopped for want of funds.

On the 11th of March 1825 the subdrostdy of Cradock was abolished, and a new district named Somerset was created. It comprised the territory from the Orange river on the north to the Zuurberg on the south, and from the Sunday and Little Riet rivers on the west to the Koonap, Zwart Kei, and Stormberg spruit on the east. This included a portion of the land ceded by Gaika in 1819. On the 31st of March, Mr. William Mackay, who in January 1824 had succeeded Captain Harding as deputy landdrost at Cradock, was appointed landdrost of the new district. The subordinate officials at Cradock were also removed to the Somerset farm at the Boschberg, where the existing buildings were easily converted into offices and dwelling-houses. The farm itself was no longer needed, for the provisions required by the troops on the frontier could now be procured by contract as easily and cheaply as they could be grown. The establishment was therefore broken up, much to the satisfaction of the British settlers in Albany, who regarded it with no favourable eye, as they believed it to have practically a monopoly of the market. A village was laid out on the ground that had been under cultivation, and on the 13th and 14th of April eighty-three erven, each one hundred and fifty by four hundred and fifty feet

in size, were sold by auction at an average price of £46. The village was named Somerset East.

The object of Lord Charles Somerset in extending the district to the Koonap was to strengthen the frontier colonists against Kaffir marauders, by placing there a strong body of men accustomed to border warfare, as the military force in the colony had been greatly reduced in recent years. For this reason nearly all the grants of land in the previously unoccupied territory were to members of old South African families. This measure gave great offence to those persons in England who believed that the Dutch colonists were habitual oppressors of coloured people, and through their influence Earl Bathurst wrote disapproving of such a settlement of the territory, as in his opinion it might be the means of extending slavery. When the dispatch arrived, forty-six families had built houses and cultivated plots of ground, and seventy-four families were grazing cattle on their grants, but had not yet commenced to build. They were called upon to withdraw, and the graziers obeyed, but the others begged for time to gather their crops. This was conceded, and such representations were made to the secretary of state that in 1827 all who would sign an agreement not to employ slave labour were permitted to retain their grants.

On the 13th of October 1825 the first steamship that plied between England and India put into Table Bay. She was named the *Enterprise*, and was of five hundred tons burden, with two engines of sixty horse-power each. Her commander was Lieutenant J. H. Johnson, of the royal navy. The new departure in navigation was regarded at the Cape, as well as in Europe and India, with great interest; and when the *Enterprise* was signalled from the Lion's rump, on the fifty-eighth day after leaving Falmouth, there was much excitement. Business was suspended, the schools were closed, and every one, young and old, hurried to the beach. Before anchoring, she steamed about the bay, to exhibit her power of moving forward with the wind in any direction. As her

anchor fell, the first gun of a salute was fired from the castle, and the ships in harbour ran up their flags. She made the passage from England without accident, and only called at one port—St. Thomas—where she remained three days. She left England with three hundred tons of coal, which was not all consumed when she reached Table Bay. Her engines, however, were not used when the wind was fair for sailing. Her greatest speed under steam was one hundred and sixty-nine miles in twenty-four hours, and the number of days on which the engines were used was thirty-five.

CHAPTER XIII.

LORD CHARLES SOMERSET—(*continued*).

On the 25th of July 1822 an address to the crown was presented by the commons, which resulted in the appointment of Major William Macbean George Colebrooke and Mr. John Thomas Bigge as commissioners for inquiring into the state of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon. They were men eminently qualified for the performance of such a duty, being patient, industrious, and skilful in weighing questions before coming to a decision. Mr. Bigge, indeed, had been a judge in the West Indies, and had acquired a good reputation in that capacity. On the 12th of July 1823 these gentlemen, with their secretary, Mr. John Gregory, arrived in Simon's Bay in the ship *Lady Campbell*, and on the 24th of the same month they entered upon their duties. For more than three years they were engaged in making investigations into the form of government, the state of the finances, the condition of the coloured people, the administration of justice, complaints of private individuals, and other matters. The results of their inquiries were embodied in long reports, some of which were not completed until 1830.

In all matters connected with the revenue and with trade these reports were exhaustive, and were compiled with great care; but upon several subjects they gave no satisfaction to any class of colonists. The commissioners were unacquainted with the Dutch language, and were thus under the necessity of trusting much to others, so that a few mistakes were inevitable.* They had no power to make changes, but they

* For instance, in Mr. Bigge's report upon the Hottentots, the following paragraph is found: "The removal of the native inhabitants from the lands which they had

were instructed to recommend to the secretary of state such alterations in the government as they might think advisable. Most of their recommendations were adopted, and will be referred to in another chapter; at present two only require to be mentioned.

The first was the creation of a council to assist and advise the governor upon every occasion of importance. On the 9th of February 1825 the sanction of the king was obtained, and the requisite order was issued. The council was to consist of six members, three of whom—the chief justice, the secretary to government, and the military officer next in rank to the governor—were to have seats by virtue of their offices. The other three named by Earl Bathurst were Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, who was deputy quarter-master-general to the troops, Mr. Walter Bentinck, who was auditor-general, and Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, who was treasurer and receiver-general. The governor was instructed to submit to the council all ordinances, public orders, and proclamations; but if he saw good reason, he could act in opposition to the opinion of a majority of the members. No question was to be discussed in the council unless proposed by the governor, who was to preside at the meetings, and who could dismiss any member if necessity arose for so doing. The meetings were to be held with closed doors, and the members were to be sworn not to divulge anything that came before them. The governor and two members were to form a quorum. Mr. Dudley Montagu Perceval—son of the prime minister who was assassinated in the lobby of the house of commons in May 1812—was appointed clerk of the council, with a

occupied was not the only consequence of the progress made by the Dutch settlers. It was deemed expedient to correct the wandering habits of the Hottentots, and by a resolution of the local government, passed in the year 1787, they were prohibited from changing their places of abode, and were required to furnish themselves with passes." In point of fact, the resolution of the council of policy here referred to was directed solely and in express terms against Hottentot women of abandoned character in Capetown and a gang of Hottentot pilferers who lived on the Cape flats; and its tenor regarding all other people of that race is in direct opposition to the assertion in the commissioner's report.

salary of £800 a year; but as he could not leave England for some time, Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink acted in that capacity until his arrival. The first meeting of the council thus constituted took place on the 2nd of May 1825, and it marks a step—though a short one—in the direction from pure despotism to the present form of government. After this date all ordinances, public orders, and proclamations were published under the title of Ordinances of the Governor in Council.

Another recommendation of the commissioners of inquiry which was adopted by the ministry of the earl of Liverpool was that the colony should be divided into two provinces of nearly equal extent. It was intended that the eastern province should have a distinct government, with a council of its own.

On the 20th of August 1825 Earl Bathurst announced to Lord Charles Somerset that Major-General Richard Bourke had been appointed lieutenant-governor, with a salary of £3,500 a year, that he would shortly proceed to the Cape in order to assume the administration of the eastern province as soon as it should be formed into a separate government, and that he would carry out his duties in direct communication with the secretary of state. Lord Charles Somerset was to remain governor-in-chief, and was to retain military command over the whole country; but was to conduct the civil administration of the western province only. Upon any extraordinary occasion, however, or in the event of any peculiar emergency arising, the governor-in-chief was to have power to proceed to the eastern province, and was to have control of all matters as long as he should remain there, the functions of the lieutenant-governor being for the time suspended; but it was to be clearly understood that nothing short of the most urgent necessity would justify such action.

This resolution could not be carried out as soon as Earl Bathurst intended, because early in 1826 Lord Charles Somerset left the colony to visit England. In April 1827 Mr. Canning succeeded the earl of Liverpool as prime minister, and Viscount

Goderich took Earl Bathurst's place. The new ministers considered that such a system of government would be much too expensive. On the 14th of June 1827 a despatch was written by the secretary of state, announcing that the design was abandoned.

The greatest impediment to the prosperity of the colony at this period was the existence of the paper money, which rested upon no other security than the public buildings and the lands reserved in olden times for the use of the government. That this security was of no practical value was evident. For instance, in 1808 one of the government estates, the tract of land in the Cape district known as Groenekloof, was divided into farms, of which twenty-six were leased for a term of years; and in 1814 another, the tract of land in the Swellendam district known as the Ziekenhuis estate, was divided into fourteen farms, of which thirteen were sold outright, and one—Sweetmilk Valley—leased for twenty-one years; in both cases without any reduction of the paper money. It was plain that neither the castle and the forts could be sold, nor government house and the public offices.

There was no metallic coin in circulation. Some was, indeed, brought into the country by shipping, and from 1806 to 1816 its exportation was prohibited under severe penalties; but on the 10th of May 1816 Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation permitting gold and silver to be sent out of the country. The brokers after this sold metallic coin to merchants who needed it for remittances to England or other countries at rates varying from two shillings and two pence in 1816 to one shilling and six pence in 1825 for a paper rixdollar. When money was needed by officers of the imperial government for the payment of the troops or other purposes, treasury bills were offered for sale by tender, and were purchased at nearly the same rates. Thus a note which professed to have the purchasing power of an English sovereign in 1825 was in reality worth no more than seven shillings and six pence.

Under such circumstances it would have been necessary for the colonial authorities to adopt some means of getting rid of the paper before any improvement in the country could be made, had not the imperial government taken the matter into consideration as part of a measure for introducing British coinage into British possessions throughout the world, and thus having a uniform currency. After investigation by the lords of the treasury, an order in council was issued that a tender or payment of one shilling and six pence in British silver money should be equivalent to a tender or payment of one paper rixdollar at the Cape of Good Hope.

The imperial government resolved to advance an amount of money to the Cape Colony to redeem a portion of the paper, and instructions were sent to Lord Charles Somerset to carry out the design. On the 6th of June 1825 an ordinance was issued by the governor in council, making British silver money a legal tender in discharge of all debts due by and to individuals at one shilling and six pence sterling for each paper rixdollar, and announcing that from the 1st of January 1826 the public accounts would be kept in British money. Silver and copper coin to the amount of £56,000 was sent from England and issued to the troops during the next eighteen months, and it was notified that the officer in charge of the commissariat would issue bills upon England to any amount in exchange for either silver money or paper rixdollars at one shilling and six pence, charging three per cent for freight and insurance.

The amount of paper that should have been in circulation was rather more than three million rixdollars. There had been:

Issued by the Dutch East India Company to meet current expenses	Rds. 613,910
Created by the Dutch East India Company as capital for the loan bank	677,365
Issued by the English administration from 1795 to 1803, and accounted for to the Batavian government, but never redeemed . . .	330,000

Created by the English administration from 1795 to 1803 as additional capital for the loan bank		165,000
Issued by the Batavian administration from 1803 to 1806 to meet current expenses . . .		222,090
Created by the Batavian administration as a loan to the district of Stellenbosch . . .		75,000
Added by the Batavian administration to the capital of the loan bank, to make even money		2,635
Issued by the English administration after 1806 to erect public buildings and as a loan to the burgher senate to construct waterworks in Capetown		500,000
Issued by the English administration to establish a granary		80,000
Issued by the English administration to replace some old Dutch notes not included in the above		5,204⅝
Created by the English administration after 1806 as additional capital for the loan bank . .		500,000
		Rds. 3,171,204⅝
From this sum was to be deducted:		
Repaid by the district of Stellenbosch and destroyed	Rds. 54,000	
Repaid by the burgher senate and destroyed	Rds. 15,000	69,000
		Rds. 3,102,204⅝

So that when the ordinance was issued the accounts stood as follows:

Capital of loan and discount bank, secured by mortgages and pledges of various kinds	Rds. 1,345,000
Debt	1,757,204⅝

At one shilling and six pence to the rixdollar the paper in circulation ought thus to have been equal to £232,665 7s.

But a few years later an excess was discovered to the extent of four hundred and eighty-four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one rixdollars, and as there was a frequent exchange by the government of new for old and defaced notes, it was not possible to ascertain when or by whom the forged paper was issued. There was no remedy, so it was of necessity added to the public debt. The paper actually in circulation amounted therefore to three million five hundred and eighty-seven thousand and fifty-six rixdollars, or £269,029 4s. sterling.

The ordinance affected people in various ways. All who owed money to the bank and to individuals, and all whose taxes—especially quitrents—were fixed in rixdollars, were jubilant. But persons who had brought British money to the country and invested it, those to whom money was due, those whose incomes were fixed in rixdollars, the orphan chamber, and all others to whom a rise in the rate of exchange would have been advantageous, believed themselves to be greatly wronged. A petition to the king in council was prepared, and received two thousand one hundred and fifteen signatures, praying that the ordinance might be withdrawn or a higher rate of exchange fixed. The orphan masters represented that the property which they administered was of greater value than the whole paper in circulation, that much of it had been for many years in their care, and that a large number of their wards would be ruined. The petitioners regarded the commercial rate of exchange in Capetown as fallacious when applied to the whole colony, and pointed out that since the issue of the paper, land, cattle, and wheat had not altered their proportional value in rixdollars to anything like the extent of eight to three. But there was great difference of opinion as to what the paper rixdollar should be redeemed at. Some would be satisfied with nothing less than four shillings, others thought two shillings would be a fair rate.

The agitation in Capetown was so great that on the 28th of June Lord Charles Somerset issued an advertisement that

any person could obtain paper money at the bank or at the various offices of the landdrosts throughout the country for any sum exceeding one hundred rixdollars in exchange for British silver at the same rate as that at which they were obliged to receive silver from their debtors. The final decision of the imperial authorities was then awaited with much anxiety. On the 13th of May 1826 the lords of the treasury pronounced against any alteration in the rate of exchange, and thus it remained at one shilling and six pence to the rixdollar. Many individuals lost heavily by it, but the colony gained by the security given to the paper money even at only three-eighths of its former nominal value.

In a short time the charge of three per cent upon treasury bills was reduced to one-half per cent, and notes to the amount of one million two hundred and thirty-seven thousand rixdollars were exchanged. This was equivalent to a loan of £92,775 without interest by Great Britain. The remaining paper in circulation was then gradually replaced by notes stamped in England, on which the value was marked in pounds sterling, and security was given by their being made exchangeable for treasury bills at par on presentation at the commissariat office.

In the regulations of the Batavian commissioner De Mist, a synod or general assembly of the clergymen and elders of the Dutch reformed church, to meet every second year, was contemplated; but after the conquest of the colony by the English the design was abandoned, though a general assembly was more than ever needed, owing to the severance of the connection with the classis of Amsterdam. In 1824, however, Lord Charles Somerset sanctioned the convocation of a synod, and on the 2nd of November of that year it met in Capetown.

At the opening there were twelve clergymen and ten elders present. The reverend Jan Christoffel Berrange, minister of Swellendam from December 1815 to June 1817, and thereafter one of the ministers of Capetown, was chosen to be moderator. The reverend Meent Borcherds, of Stellenbosch, was appointed

secretary. Two political commissioners represented the government in the synod: Sir John Truter, chief justice of the colony, and Mr. Pieter Jan Truter, one of the judges of the high court. The session closed on the 19th of November, when the resolutions were sent to Lord Charles Somerset for approval, and by him were provisionally confirmed pending the decision of the imperial government. He neglected, however, to forward them to England.

The resolutions infringed upon nothing that can nowadays be regarded as pertaining to the civil power, though they created full machinery for the government of the church under the presbyterian system. Three presbyteries were formed. The first represented the congregations of Capetown, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Zwartland, and Somerset West; the second the congregations of Tulbagh, Swellendam, George, Caledon, and Worcester; and the third the congregations of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, Cradock, and Beaufort West.

Between the first and second meetings of the synod four other congregations were formed.

Shortly after the reverend Andrew Murray was appointed to Graaff-Reinet he commenced to hold periodical services at a place indifferently called Toornberg or Toverberg, in the northern part of his extensive parish. Two years later the farmers thereabouts requested the governor to allow them to form a distinct congregation, and to grant them a tract of land at Toverberg large enough to afford sufficient grazing ground for their cattle when they attended the services and also to allow of their selling village erven in order to build a church and parsonage with the proceeds. Lord Charles Somerset gave his consent to both these requests. On the 28th of July 1825 he approved of elders and deacons, whose names were forwarded to him by the landdrost. The congregation was thus formed, but matters progressed very slowly thereafter. Services were held under the shade of waggon sails. The clergyman of Graaff-Reinet continued to act as consulent until the 22nd of March 1836, when the reverend Thomas Reid was appointed resident minister. In

1829, at the request of the consistory, Sir Lowry Cole consented to rename the place Colesberg. A village was then laid out, and on the 29th of November 1830 the first building lots were sold. On the same day the corner-stone of a church was laid.

On the 26th of October 1825 elders and deacons nominated by the landdrost were approved by the governor for a congregation with its centre at the new village of Somerset East. The reverend George Morgan, who had arrived from Scotland a few days previously, was appointed clergyman at that place, and commenced duty there on the 8th of January 1826.

On the 1st of April 1825 the foundation stone of a church was laid on the farm Pompoenkraal, in the Cape district, with a view to a separate congregation being formed there. Lord Charles Somerset favoured the project, but no haste was made, and it was only on the 12th of July 1826, after he had left the colony, that the elders and deacons nominated by the landdrost were approved by the head of the government. The reverend Mr. Berrange, of Capetown, was then appointed consulent, and acted in that capacity until the 26th of May 1828, when the reverend James Edgar became resident clergyman. The church place continued to be called Pompoenkraal until the 31st of August 1837, when it received the name D'Urban, which again at a later date was changed to Durbanville.

At Clanwilliam there had been since 1816 a mission of the Dutch reformed church conducted by Mr. L. Marquard, but with the exception of the few English speaking people who attended the reverend Mr. M'Cleland's services before his removal to Port Elizabeth, the Europeans in that part of the country were members of the congregation of Tulbagh. In 1826 Clanwilliam was formed into a new parish of the Dutch reformed church. On the 17th of August of that year elders and deacons nominated by the landdrost of Worcester were approved by the acting governor, and on the 17th of September were installed in office by the reverend Dr. Thom, clergyman of Tulbagh, acting as consulent. Services

were held quarterly by Dr. Thom until the 24th of November 1831, when the reverend William Robertson, who, after acting as teacher at Graaff-Reinet for some years, had returned to Scotland and studied for the church, was appointed resident minister. The present village and district of Robertson were named after him at a later date.

The second meeting of the synod took place in November 1826. Of the Scotch clergymen named in preceding chapters, all were still ministering in South Africa except the reverend Mr. Evans, who died early in 1823. Their influence was so strong that the question was discussed whether it would not be advisable to unite with the established church of Scotland. A motion to this effect was rejected, however, as a majority thought it better to remain independent. It was admitted by all that the English language could not be used in the church services, as Dutch was the domestic language of the people. The establishment of a theological seminary in the colony was favourably considered, but the means were wanting to carry the project out. The resolutions were laid before Major-General Bourke, then acting governor. He submitted them, together with those of 1824, to the council, by which body various alterations and omissions were made, and in that condition they were sent to England for approval. In December 1828 the various clergymen were informed that "the king was pleased to allow the resolutions of the synods of 1824 and 1826 to have effect, his Majesty reserving to himself the right of disallowing thereafter any resolutions which on more mature consideration it might appear inexpedient to confirm." So thoroughly subject was the church to the state in those days.

By this time it was found to be inconvenient and too expensive for the synod to meet so frequently, and therefore it did not assemble again until 1829. Its next three sessions were in 1834, 1837, and 1842.

The Lutherans had still but one congregation, in Capetown.

The English episcopal church had now six clergymen in the colony. The reverend George Hough, the senior chaplain,

ministered to a congregation which met for worship in the Dutch church in Capetown. Saint George's church in Simonstown was destroyed in the great storm of 1822, and the clergyman there—the reverend George Sturt—was obliged to make use of a building fitted up for temporary use. The reverend William Geary was stationed in Grahamstown in February 1823, but by order of Earl Bathurst, dated 29th of May 1824, was removed in October of that year, when his place was taken by the reverend Thomas Ireland, previously military chaplain in Capetown. Services were performed in the Wesleyan church, which was opened for use on the 10th of November 1822, and was lent to Messrs. Geary and Ireland for public worship once every Sunday. At a little later date the Baptist church was built, and it also was lent to the English episcopal clergyman to hold service in once every Sunday until 1828, when St. George's church—later the cathedral—was completed. In 1820 the reverend William Wright was sent out by the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts as a missionary to the coloured people in Capetown, but as that field was fully occupied, he took up his residence at Wynberg, where he conducted services regularly. The reverend William Boardman was with his party close to Bathurst, and in November 1825 the reverend Francis McCleland was removed from Clanwilliam to Port Elizabeth.

In 1826 an ecclesiastical board was formed for the purpose of advising the secretary of state with respect to matters concerning the episcopal church in the colonies. On the 24th of March of that year Earl Bathurst directed the governor to require the chaplains to furnish reports periodically to the reverend Anthony Hamilton, secretary to the board.

The Wesleyans had established a congregation in Capetown, and on the 16th of June 1822 their first chapel—in Barrack-street—was opened for public worship. Before that date their clergymen had conducted service in a store hired for the purpose. In Albany they had several places of worship. The reverend William Shaw was desirous of undertaking mission work among the Kaffirs, and received the governor's

permission to do so, provided he should consult with the reverend Mr. Thomson as to a place of residence and report his proceedings to that gentleman. On the 25th of July 1823 Messrs. Thomson and Shaw had a conference with Pato and the other sons of Cungwa, when it was arranged that the new mission should be established in their country, lying along the sea between the Keiskama and Buffalo rivers. There Wesleyville was founded by Mr. Shaw, as the first of a chain of stations—Mount Coke, Butterworth, Clarkebury, Morley, and Buntingville—extending eastward to the Umzimvubu.

The Glasgow missionary society was formed in 1796. In 1820 it turned its attention to South Africa, and in the following year its first agent, the reverend John Bennie, arrived. He carried on his work in conjunction with Messrs. Brownlee and Thomson until 1824, when he founded a station eight or ten miles farther down the Tyumie, near the present institution of Lovedale. In the same year the reverend John Ross arrived, and founded a station with Eno's people at the Perie. Other missionaries of this society rapidly followed, and scattered themselves among the people along the range of the Amatola.

In 1825 the reverend John Brownlee returned to the service of the London society, and as its agent founded a station with Tshatshu's clan on the eastern bank of the Buffalo river, which now forms part of the borough of King-Williamstown. Thus an effort on a large scale was almost simultaneously made by three great societies to introduce Christianity and civilisation among the Xosas, an effort that was not crowned with as speedy success as its promoters then hoped for, but which has in later years been productive of much good.

Within the colony in 1817 the South African society founded the station of Zoar, at the foot of the Zwartebergen, in the district of Swellendam. In 1824 the Moravians founded the station of Elim, only a few miles from Cape Agulhas. In 1825 the London society founded the station of Hankey, on the Gamtoos river. Of all its settlements in South Africa this has been the most successful in elevating the Hottentots, for

here industry was inculcated as well as religion. By means of a tunnel through a mountain—a large piece of work considering the natural disposition of the people by whose labour it was constructed—a supply of water was obtained for the irrigation of an extensive tract of land, with the result that Hankey became a neat and flourishing institution. In nearly every village throughout the country there were now branches of one or other of the missionary societies, employing agents to instruct the coloured people. Altogether, there were in the colony at the close of 1825 fifty-four places of religious worship and about one hundred and twenty schools of various classes.

To the north of the colony the station of Bethany, in Great Namaqualand, had been occupied for several years by the reverend Mr. Schmelen, Wesleyan and London society's missionaries were working with the Namaquas along the lower course of the Orange, and the London society had agents with the Griquas and the Batlapin higher up the river.

The Mohamedan religion was never prohibited in South Africa, though during the government of the East India Company people of that creed were obliged to worship either in the open air or in private houses. They requested from General Janssens permission to build a mosque, which was granted without hesitation, and a commencement was about to be made when the colony was conquered by the English. General Baird confirmed the privilege granted by his predecessor, and very shortly there was a mosque in Capetown. Another was built during the government of Lord Charles Somerset.

The arbitrary conduct of the governor since his return from England gave rise to much discontent, especially among the English residents, and the cost of his establishment, while the colony was in a condition of financial distress, caused a great deal of adverse comment. Lord Charles Somerset had for his own use four residences, kept in repair at the public expense. There was first the government house in the gardens in Capetown. Next there was the summer-house at Newlands.

This was the old building occupied by the Dutch governors, that had been sold to Mr. Hendrik Vos in 1791. Afterwards it came into possession of Mr. William Duckitt, from whom Sir David Baird, on behalf of the government, obtained the house and a large portion of the grounds in exchange for a small farm in the Cape district and a plot of land known as High Constantia, adjoining the original Constantia estate. Sir John Cradock improved the house somewhat, but Lord Charles Somerset was lavish of expense upon it. He attempted to add a second storey to it, with the result that in a storm during the night of the 12th of August 1819 it tumbled down; but he at once commenced to erect in its stead the house, the main portion of which is still standing. As a marine villa he caused the building in Camp's Bay now belonging to Mr. Daniel Mills to be put up, and kept ready for his use whenever he chose to occupy it. And as a shooting-box he had the premises at Groote Post prepared for his accommodation. The grounds of Groote Post were twelve thousand morgen in extent, and the game upon them was preserved for the diversion of the governor and his friends.

At the same time Lord Charles was not giving such satisfaction to the secretary of state as before 1820. Not that his mode of administration was objected to, for Earl Bathurst approved of most of the acts which were offensive in South Africa, but his calls upon the imperial treasury for money were received with great annoyance. The finances of England were then in a disordered state, and the governor was expected by some means or other to keep the colonial expenditure within the revenue. The frequent questions concerning South Africa asked by members of the opposition in the house of commons were also embarrassing to the ministers. The governor must be wanting in tact, they thought, or he could surely prevent these unpleasant discussions.

The pecuniary difficulties of the Cape began in 1820, when unavoidable expenses increased without an equivalent enlargement of revenue. The British settlers alone, according to a

return made to Earl Bathurst by the governor, had cost the colony £34,461 to the 30th of June 1825, besides an additional annual charge of £3,375, and they had as yet contributed nothing in return except through customs duties. Of the loan of £125,000 from the imperial treasury granted to repair the damages caused by the great storm of 1822, no use was made at the time; but in 1824, to Earl Bathurst's chagrin, Lord Charles drew bills, under this authority, for £35,097 10*s.* 7*d.*, with which he redeemed the two hundred thousand paper rixdollars, issued other sums on loan to the amount of £11,163, and applied the balance—£8,934—to the repair of public buildings.

From the commissariat chest sums amounting altogether to £37,262 were drawn on loan, and when this source of supply was exhausted, on the 30th of June 1825 the governor borrowed from the agent of the East India Company £18,750 at four per cent yearly interest. From various local boards also sums amounting in all to £4,670 were obtained. When this was reported in England, Earl Bathurst—8th of October 1825—issued peremptory instructions for the immediate suspension of all public works in the colony, and prohibited new appointments or increases of salaries without his previous sanction.

While the finances of the country were in this ruinous condition, it was agreed by everyone that further taxation was impossible; and the colonists were loud in declaring that there was no other remedy than retrenchment in the salaries drawn by the principal officials.

At this time the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset was occupying a good deal of attention in the house of commons, arising from the following circumstances:

A petition to the king and parliament from a considerable number of people in Capetown opposed to the redemption of the paper money at the low rate of eighteen pence sterling to the rixdollar was sent to England in Lieutenant-Colonel Bird's charge, and excited much comment. Those who were smarting under the loss occasioned by that measure held that Lord

Charles was to blame, because he had not reduced the public expenditure so as to enable him to apply the interest received through the loan bank to the redemption of the paper, instead of crediting it to the revenue.

Colonel Bird was at open enmity with the governor. In May 1818, upon the death of Mr. Henry Alexander, he had been recommended by Lord Charles for the office of colonial secretary, and in consequence received that appointment, to which a salary of £3,500 and a perquisite of £300 a year were attached. It was not known at the time that he was a Roman catholic, as none of his acts were unfriendly to the Protestant religion. Mr. William Parker, however, discovered the nature of his creed, and forced the subject upon Earl Bathurst's attention. On the 18th of August 1821 the under secretary, Mr. Goulburn, in drawing the governor's attention to the reports circulated by Mr. Parker, observed that some act of conformity on his part with the Protestant church would be satisfactory, and on the 20th of June 1823 Earl Bathurst instructed the governor to require of him to take the customary oaths of office. Driven thus into a corner, Colonel Bird declined to take any other than the so-called Canada oath, which was framed for use in the province of Quebec. A little before this he had been so imprudent as to oppose a design of Lord Charles Somerset regarding an increase of salary to one of the civil servants, and even to write to Earl Bathurst on the subject, an offence which it was not in the nature of the governor to overlook. He was suspected also of supplying documents that Sir Rufane Donkin was using in London to the detriment of Lord Charles, and probably this had more to do with his dismissal than his religion had. On the 13th of March 1824 Earl Bathurst announced that the king was pleased to dispense with his services. He had been ill and absent from office since the 23rd of January, and on the 5th of June received notification of his dismissal. On the same day Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink was directed to act as colonial secretary until an appointment should be made to the office. Colonel Bird was allowed six months' salary in advance, and

thereafter a pension of £600 a year, with a promise of £300 a year to Mrs. Bird should she survive him. His successor was Sir Richard Plasket, who assumed duty on the 23rd of November 1824, with the title of secretary to government, and a salary of £3,000 a year.

Colonel Bird made no complaint to parliament on his own account. Just then there was a memorial before the commons, brought by Mr. William Parker, who asserted that the late colonial secretary had acted in an improper manner towards him, and was the cause of his failure in the colony. Beyond showing that there was no foundation for this charge, Colonel Bird did nothing directly to cause discussion in the commons, but indirectly several members were known to be prompted by him.

In 1820 a man named Bishop Burnett, who was well connected in England, came to South Africa as an independent immigrant with a little capital, and rented some ground close to the Grahamstown commonage from Mr. Robert Hart, the superintendent of the Somerset farm at the Boschberg. From the government he obtained a grant of land adjoining that he had leased from Mr. Hart. Upon this estate Mr. Burnett commenced agricultural operations in the style to which he had been accustomed in England, and expended his capital largely in an ornamental building and embellishing the grounds about it. From a firm of merchants in Capetown he obtained a considerable credit, and mortgaged his property as security. In the end he was unable to pay the second year's rent and a sum of money due for some cattle to Mr. Hart, who sued him for the debt before the circuit court.

A series of lawsuits followed, and a decree was obtained declaring Mr. Burnett insolvent. During the proceedings in the case leading to this declaration, he tendered in payment an account against Captain Henry Somerset for grass supplied to the Cape regiment under that officer's command, but as this account was disputed, the court refused to accept it as equivalent to money. In the condition to which he was reduced, his capital lost, his prospects in

South Africa blighted, his honesty challenged for having secured one creditor by a bond while there was nothing to meet the claims of others, Mr. Burnett came to believe that gross injustice had been done to him; and when the property, upon the embellishment of which he had spent so much, was sold for a mere trifle, he regarded the proceedings against him as nothing better than robbery.

His denunciations of Captain Somerset, Mr. Hart, and everyone connected with the courts of justice were publicly made in very violent language, and at length in a memorial to Lord Charles Somerset, dated at Grahamstown on the 2nd of December 1823, he accused Messrs. Borcherds and Truter, the judges of the circuit court, of "prejudice, partiality, and a corrupt violation of justice." He stated that the whole history of the proceedings in which he had been engaged was one "of flagrant injustice, of legal error and perversion, of inconsistency, of extra-judicial procedure, of scandalous oppression, and of intolerable persecution." In conclusion, he denounced Messrs. Truter and Borcherds as "persons morally disqualified to fulfil the sacred functions intrusted to them."

The governor placed this memorial in the hands of the fiscal, who caused Mr. Burnett to be tried for libel before the high court of justice. On the 9th of November 1824 he was pronounced guilty, when he was sentenced to banishment from the colony for five years, and to imprisonment until his embarkation. The latter part of the sentence was not enforced, and with an early opportunity Mr. Burnett left South Africa and proceeded to England. There he denounced Lord Charles Somerset as not only responsible for the acts of every officer of the colonial government, because they held their situations at his Excellency's pleasure, but as the instigator of such oppression as he had experienced. In June 1825 he applied to the house of commons for redress, and Mr. Brougham, when presenting his petition, observed that if the statements contained in it were proved, he should feel it his duty to impeach Lord Charles Somerset.

On the 3rd of February 1823 the reverend Abraham Faure, one of the clergymen of the Dutch reformed church in Cape-town, and Mr. Thomas Pringle, assistant public librarian, sent to the governor the prospectus of a monthly magazine which they proposed to publish alternately in Dutch and English. The governor forwarded the prospectus to the secretary of state for the colonies, who on the 7th of July wrote in answer that he had no objection to its publication, provided all topics of political or personal controversy were rigidly excluded. This condition was considered by the imperial authorities necessary in a country occupied by different nationalities, and where slavery existed.

A few weeks after the prospectus of the magazine was sent to the governor by Messrs. Faure and Pringle, an English printer named George Greig arrived at the Cape. Having obtained a printing press from the reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London society's missions, and a quantity of type from a vessel that called at Table Bay on her passage to India, in July he sent in a memorial for permission to publish a magazine; but as Lord Charles Somerset had not yet received instructions from Earl Bathurst, Mr. Greig was merely informed by the colonial secretary that numerous requests to the same purport had been made, and that the governor would feel himself bound to consider the interests of prior applicants whenever a printing press should be established in the colony.

Mr. Greig waited until December, and then, having heard nothing further from the government, he abandoned the project of publishing a magazine, and issued a prospectus of a weekly newspaper, in which he stated that "the *South African Commercial Advertiser* would ever most rigidly exclude all personal controversy, however disguised, or the remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or administration of the colonial government." A copy of the prospectus was sent to the governor with a letter requesting his patronage, but not formally asking his leave. The pledge in the prospectus seemed to comply so exactly with

Earl Bathurst's instructions that Lord Charles made no objection to the paper being published, and on the 7th of January 1824 the first number was issued from the office, No. 30 Longmarket-street, Capetown. A little later Messrs. Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn became its joint editors, and as both these gentlemen were well educated and able, its literary character was high.

At this time there was living in Capetown a man who went by the name of William Edwards, by occupation a notary. He was a noisy and turbulent individual, a rabid declaimer against the tory party, and a constant boaster of his position and influence in England. In January 1824 he was employed by Mr. Launcelot Cooke, a resident in the town, to draw up a memorial to the lords of the treasury, in which Mr. Charles Blair, collector of customs, was charged with allotting prize negroes to his creditors in payment of his debts. In the usual manner this memorial was sent to the governor, but, instead of forwarding it, Lord Charles Somerset caused Cooke and Edwards to be tried for libel. On the 26th of March they were acquitted, but Edwards suffered a month's imprisonment for abusive language in court towards the fiscal, Mr. Daniel Denyssen. A report of the trial appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*, and was certainly calculated to bring the chief law officer of the colony into disrespect. Besides this, a leading article upon a model administrator and several extracts from different books gave offence to the governor.

In April William Edwards was again brought before the high court of justice, charged with addressing a malicious and libellous letter to the governor, when in his defence he did all that he possibly could to cast slurs upon the character of Lord Charles Somerset.

To prevent a report of this case appearing in print, on the 3rd of May the governor instructed the fiscal to require Mr. Greig to furnish security to the amount of £750 that he would adhere to the terms of his prospectus, and unless such security were forthcoming by the 7th of the month to

stop the press until it should be given. The fiscal was also directed to look over the proof-sheets of the paper to be published on the 5th, and to suppress anything offensive in them. On the evening of the 4th these instructions were carried out. The following morning the eighteenth number of the *Commercial Advertiser* appeared with a notice that as the fiscal had assumed a censorship, the publisher found it his duty to discontinue the paper until he had applied for redress to his Excellency the governor and the British government.

The 7th passed without an offer of the required security, but with a notification to the public by Mr. Greig that he intended to publish an advertising sheet and an account of the facts connected with the suppression of the newspaper through the assumption of a censorship by the fiscal. On the 8th the governor directed the fiscal to put a seal upon the press, and issued a warrant requiring Mr. Greig to leave the colony within a month. The matter was regarded as of such importance that these directions were carried out on Sunday by the fiscal and a commission from the high court of justice. By some means Mr. Greig then managed to print an account of what had occurred on slips of paper, which were extensively distributed; and he also put up a notice offering his type for sale, to enable him to proceed to England to seek redress. This so irritated the governor that he issued an order to place a seal on the type, and when it was thus made unsaleable, his Excellency offered to purchase it at a valuation. To get money, Mr. Greig gave his consent, and though a fortnight later it was intimated to him by the fiscal that, unless he provoked the governor again, his quitting the colony would not be enforced, he took passage in the first vessel that sailed for England.

A few days later the type was transferred by the governor to a printer in the *Gazette* office named William Bridekirk, who had a small shop for the sale of books and stationery; and on the 18th of August a new paper, called the *South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser*, appeared.

This paper, like the *Commercial Advertiser,* was published in the English and Dutch languages once a week. It was to all intents a government organ, and was eulogistic of Lord Charles Somerset personally. It continued in existence until the close of 1826.

Shortly after Mr. Greig left the colony, his press was claimed by the reverend Dr. Philip as the property of the London missionary society, but the governor refused to give it up without proof of ownership and security to the amount of £750 that it would not be used for purposes of political or personal controversy. He then referred the matter to Earl Bathurst.

Meantime a petition to the king in council was numerously signed in Capetown, praying that the press in South Africa might be placed under legal protection. This tended to exasperate the governor still more, and his displeasure was vented upon as many of those who signed it as came in his way. To such lengths did he proceed that he threatened to put in force his proclamation against illegal meetings if the members of a newly-formed literary and scientific society — who were chiefly men that signed the petition — should venture to assemble, and he compelled all civil servants of standing to withdraw their names from that association.

Upon reaching England, Mr. Greig applied to the secretary of state for the colonies, and received an attentive hearing. Earl Bathurst was not one whit more than Lord Charles Somerset in favour of an uncontrolled newspaper in the colony, but the arbitrary proceedings in connection with the suppression of the *Commercial Advertiser* were exciting much comment in London, the opponents of the ministry were turning that event to the best account, and the secretary was compelled to proceed with the greatest caution. It was not only the liberty of the press, but the liberty of the subject, that was regarded as being at stake. By a mere act of will Mr. Greig had been ordered by Lord Charles Somerset to leave the colony. High legal authority in England maintained that in time of peace a

governor had not the right to banish a British subject from a British possession without trial, that the terms of his commission giving him that power were invalid, as nothing short of an act of parliament could confer it, and that if such an act was authorised by the Roman-Dutch law of the Cape Colony, that law in this case, as an evil in itself, necessarily ceased to be operative after the conquest. Mr. Greig was desired to submit his case in writing, and it was then carefully compared with Lord Charles Somerset's reports. In the relation of matters of fact they agreed, but their deductions were widely different. Dr. Philip's claim to the press was then referred to Mr. Greig for explanation, and was repudiated by him, as he asserted that the press was purchased, not borrowed. He stated also that the sale of his type to the Cape government was practically forced upon him, as he was prevented from using it, and needed money to defray his travelling expenses.

On the 12th of February 1825 Earl Bathurst gave his decision. Mr. Greig was permitted to return to the Cape Colony, with liberty to publish a newspaper under the terms of the prospectus issued by him in December 1823. The type sold to the Cape government was to be restored to him at the same price, and he was to have a long credit for payment. The dispute with Dr. Philip concerning the ownership of the press was to be settled between themselves, or by a court of law. The exact meaning of the prospectus was referred to the governor in council, who could withdraw the license to publish if the terms were not observed.

Mr. Greig accordingly returned to the colony. He was unable to obtain the type which had been transferred to Mr. Bridekirk, but he procured other, and on the 31st of August 1825 the *South African Commercial Advertiser* appeared again. Mr. Fairbairn now became its sole editor, as Mr. Pringle returned to England. The paper from this date became decidedly an opposition organ to the existing government.

This was not the only contention which Lord Charles Somerset had with the press. On the 2nd of December 1823 he formally gave leave to Messrs. Pringle and Faure to publish the magazine which they proposed to edit, and on the 5th of March 1824 the first number of the *South African Journal* appeared, followed in April by the first number of the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift.* Each magazine was issued as an octavo pamphlet of sixty-four to one hundred pages. The second number of the *Journal* appeared on the 7th of May, and contained, among other articles, one upon the state and prospects of the British settlers, in which their distress was partly attributed to "an arbitrary system of government and its natural consequences: abuse of power by local functionaries, monopolies, restrictions, etc."

On the 13th of May the fiscal sent for Mr. Pringle, and demanded security that he would abstain in future from political and personal controversy. This Mr. Pringle declined to give. The governor then sent for him, and in offensive language upbraided him with being ungrateful. His Excellency had enlarged the grant to his party of settlers at Glen Lynden by nine thousand four hundred acres of ground, and had conferred upon himself the situation of sub-librarian of the public library in Capetown, with a salary of £75 a year. Mr. Pringle replied that he presumed the grant of ground had been made as a matter of public duty, and as for the sub-librarianship he begged to resign it. Lord Charles then expressed a wish that the *South African Journal* should be continued, but that care should be taken to avoid the publication of offensive matter in it. Mr. Pringle, however, declined to conduct it longer, unless it was protected by law from arbitrary interference on the part of the executive branch of the government, and to this no reply was made.

The *Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift* continued to be published as before, but the *Journal* expired with the second number. An academy conducted by Messrs. Pringle and Fairbairn, and

which had been in a thriving condition, now rapidly lost its best pupils, as the governor showed himself unfriendly to those who sent children to it. His Excellency regarded it, indeed, as a school where seditious principles were being instilled into the minds of the young, and he wrote so urgently to Earl Bathurst upon the necessity of counteracting it, that the secretary of state engaged the reverend Edward Judge, a clergyman of the English church, to come out and establish a seminary. In May 1825 Mr. Judge arrived, and opened a high-class school in Capetown, with which it was impossible for a private establishment to compete.

The *Commercial Advertiser* was suppressed to prevent a report of the trial of William Edwards appearing in it. By the public the governor was regarded as the real prosecutor in that trial, though the fiscal took the responsibility. Edwards was found guilty, and was sentenced to seven years' transportation to New South Wales. At that time English convict ships called at the Cape for supplies of fresh provisions, and by order of the imperial government persons sentenced to transportation by the colonial high court were received on board and conveyed to Australia, where they were kept in detention just as if they had been sentenced in England. When on the way to Simonstown to be consigned to a convict ship, Edwards made his escape, but was subsequently discovered in the house of a retired shipmaster named John Carnall, at Wynberg, and when re-arrested made an abortive attempt to commit suicide.

Captain Carnall was then tried before a court of two judges for aiding Edwards to escape, and was sentenced to banishment from the colony for a year. The fiscal appealed to the full court, and on the 8th of November 1824 the sentence was increased to five years' transportation to New South Wales. The governor mitigated it, however, to five years' banishment from the colony, and Captain Carnall took passage for England.

These events caused much ferment in Capetown. Edwards was regarded by a large number of people as a kind of

martyr for liberty, as a man who was pursued to death by the governor for no other offence than that of having written a letter to his Excellency in unguarded language. Captain Carnall was described as an inoffensive and amiable man, who in the evening of life was required to sacrifice his property and make a new home in some other country where tyranny was less triumphant than in South Africa.

Another circumstance that caused a good deal of excitement in Capetown during this eventful winter was a number of abusive placards that were posted up at night. At daybreak in the morning of the 1st of June, Captain Findlay, a master mariner who was resident in the town, observed a placard pasted on a post at the Heerengracht end of the parade, and found it to be a malignant and obscene charge against the governor. He did not remove it, and a little later in the morning it was not there, though no one else could be found who saw it. Upon nothing but Captain Findlay's report, the governor offered a very large reward for the discovery of the author of the placard, and the leading people in the town supplemented the offer most liberally. But no discovery was made. Then the governor issued warrants to search the premises and papers of certain individuals. Nothing whatever was brought to light, and an opinion became prevalent that the placard was designed by some of his Excellency's minions purposely to enable search warrants to be issued.

These matters found their way into the London newspapers, and were commented upon greatly to the disfavour of Lord Charles Somerset. The variety in the character and occupations of the individuals who had lived under his government, and who were then in London denouncing him, gave weight to the general opinion that his administration was so despotic and corrupt as to be a disgrace to the English name. The most violent and energetic of his accusers was Mr. Bishop Burnett, the most talented were Colonel Bird and Sir Rufane Donkin, and the simplest was the old skipper John Carnall.

But there were many others, of whom only two or three need be mentioned.

Mr. Pringle was still in South Africa, but was in correspondence with the secretary of state and with a leading member of the house of commons.

Mr. Launcelot Cooke was a formidable opponent, who succeeded in bringing his views very prominently before the British people. His case was simply this: How can justice be obtained in a colony where the judges are nominees of the governor and removable at his pleasure, if charges addressed to the imperial authorities can be detained by that governor, and those who make them be prosecuted criminally for libel?

Another, but much less formidable, opponent was the reverend William Geary. This individual was a clergyman of the English episcopal church, who came to South Africa with a letter of recommendation from the duchess of Beaufort, and was in consequence appointed minister at Grahamstown. His letters show him as a petty-minded contentious person, dissatisfied with his position, and continually harping upon the smallness of what he termed his surplice fees. He made himself very obnoxious to the local authorities, and was by them accused of taking a leading part in what was officially termed "the riot" in Grahamstown on the evening of the 4th of February 1824. This "riot," however, was not a very serious affair. The commissioners of inquiry had just arrived in the town, and the inhabitants—undoubtedly in a spirit of opposition to the existing government—illuminated their houses and some of them conducted themselves rather boisterously in the streets. It was not five years after the dispersion by soldiers of an unauthorised assembly of people in Manchester—the so-called "Peterloo Massacre,"—and the officer commanding the troops could therefore act upon an English precedent of no remote date. He rode through the streets with the cavalry of the Cape corps, when everyone retired, and the "riot" was over. Mr. Geary was stated to have acted on this occasion in a most unbecoming manner; but this he denied. In October

1824 Lord Charles Somerset dismissed him by Earl Bathurst's order. He then returned to England, where he represented himself as a victim of the governor's tyranny, and was attentively listened to.

In 1825 the ministry warded off an attack in the house of commons by promising that the various complaints which had been brought forward should be submitted to the investigation of the commissioners of inquiry, that their reports should be in readiness at an early date, and that Lord Charles Somerset should be called upon to defend himself. Mr. Bigge was then in ill health, so it became necessary to appoint a third commissioner. Mr. William Blair, who was selected for the office, arrived at the Cape on the 24th of December 1825.

Lord Charles had previously requested leave to return to England, in order—as he expressed himself—to refute the gross calumnies with which he was assailed; and Earl Bathurst had given him permission to do so. But at the beginning of 1826 the feeling in London was so strong that, as he had not availed himself of this leave, on the 15th of January the secretary of state wrote to him that it had "become expedient that he should repair home immediately to furnish the necessary explanations." The direction of public opinion was clearly indicated by the *Times* newspaper of the 19th of January, in which the trial of Lord Charles Somerset was demanded, and Mr. Brougham was called upon to fulfil the promise to impeach him.

On the 8th of February 1826 General Bourke arrived in the ship-of-war *Rainbow*, with instructions to carry on the administration during the absence of the governor. On the 5th of March Lord Charles, with his wife and eldest daughter, embarked in the East India Company's ship *Atlas*, and sailed for England. He left the remaining members of his family at the Cape, as he confidently expected to return at no very distant date.

A few days after the governor's arrival in England there was a brief discussion of his case in the house of commons,

but owing to the advanced stage of the session the subject was allowed to drop. Then parliament was dissolved, and Mr. Beaumont, the member who had been most active in introducing petitions against him, was not returned for the new house. In December 1826 Mr. Hume, who presented a petition from Captain Carnall, brought the matter on again, but discussion was still further postponed.

In April 1827 Mr. Canning succeeded the earl of Liverpool as prime minister, and Lord Goderich took Earl Bathurst's place. Lord Charles Somerset immediately sent in his resignation as governor of the Cape Colony. On the 17th of May Mr. Wilmot Horton moved in the commons that the reports of the commissioners of inquiry should be laid upon the table, which was agreed to.

On the 29th of June 1827 the matter finally came on for discussion. But by this time everybody was weary of the subject, and new events were occupying all minds. The resignation of the governor was accepted by most people as having done away with the necessity for further investigation. William Edwards, upon reaching New South Wales, was recognised as an escaped convict whose true name was Alexander Lockaye, and the strong feeling which his case had called forth at once subsided. The report of the commissioners of inquiry upon the case of Mr. Bishop Burnett, which had been made so much of, was entirely in Lord Charles Somerset's favour. Mr. Brougham himself prevented debate by a short speech, in which he informed the commons that, having been retained in a case that came before the privy council, he had found the most serious charge made by Burnett against the governor—that of taking a sum of money in an indirect manner by the sale of a horse for giving a decision as judge of the court of appeal—was utterly groundless. The governor's decision was actually against the man who had purchased the horse from him. After Mr. Brougham, a few members spoke, generally in favour of acquitting the governor of personal corruption; but there was no life in the debate, and it ended—never to

be resumed—in a resolution that the papers should remain upon the table.

Lord Charles Somerset survived this event nearly four years. He died at Brighton on the 20th of February 1831, after a very short illness.

CHAPTER XIV.

TERRIBLE DESTRUCTION OF BANTU TRIBES DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

AT this period nearly the whole of South Africa beyond the borders of the Cape Colony was in a state of violent disturbance, owing to wars among different Bantu tribes. The colony itself was affected to such an extent by an influx of fugitives that its history cannot be continued without an account of what was then occurring in the region north of the Orange river, between the Kalahari desert and the Indian ocean.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the great range of mountains called the Kathlamba or Drakensbergen was a dividing line between two sections of Bantu that differed considerably from each other. The principal tribes that occupied the land along the coast, and whose descendants—though in many instances reduced to mere petty clans—are still in existence, were the following:

1. The Amaxosa, bordering on the Cape Colony, and inhabiting the district between the Fish and Bashee rivers.

2. The Abatembu, occupying the district between the Bashee and Umtata rivers.

3. The Amampondomisi, who lived east of the Umtata, forty or fifty miles from the sea.

4. The Amampondo, who occupied the country along the lower course of the Umzimvubu river.

5. The Amaxesibe, who occupied a small district on one of the eastern tributaries of the Umzimvubu. These people were a branch of a tribe living much farther north, but they had been settled for several generations where they were then living, and had become politically independent.

6. A number of tribes—the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Amahlubi, the Abasekunene, and many others of less importance—occupying the territory that is now the colony of Natal. The Amamfengu or Fingos of the present day are descendants of these people.

7. The Amabaca, who also occupied at that time a portion of Natal, and whose descendants are now to be found dispersed between the Tina and Umzimkulu rivers.

8. The Amangwane, living along the Umzinyati river.

9. The various tribes that were welded together by Tshaka, and have since formed the Amazulu. They occupied the country between the Tugela and Pongolo rivers.

10. The tribe now called the Amaswazi, occupying an inland district north of the Pongolo river.

Beyond these were the descendants of the tribes of whom an account has been given in the first volume of *History and Ethnography of South Africa from 1505 to 1795.*

On the other side of the Kathlamba range which, at a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles or one hundred and ninety-three kilometres, runs nearly parallel with the margin of the Indian ocean, the most advanced tribe on the south was the Baputi, who were thinly scattered over the district between Thaba Bosigo and Kornet Spruit.

Next came a group of tribes—offshoots of the Bakwena—terming themselves the Bamonaheng, the Mayiana, the Makhoakhoa, the Batlakoana, the Bafokeng, and the Baramokhele, with some others of less note. They spoke the same dialect, and claimed descent from common ancestors; but politically each was independent of the others, except when accident or the abilities of some chief gave supremacy for a time to a particular ruler among them. They occupied the valley of the Caledon from about the parallel of 29° 20′ northward. It will be well to regard them with particular attention, for their descendants form the nucleus of the present Basuto tribe.

Some distance to the northwest, occupying the country along the lower banks of the Sand river, were the Bataung

or Leghoyas, who were the oldest Bantu residents south of the Vaal. They were not connected politically in any way with the tribes along the upper Caledon.

Near the source of the Sand river was a little tribe termed the Bamorara, or more generally the Bapatsa, likewise independent of all the others.

Along the southern bank of the Vaal, between the district occupied by the Bataung and the Drakensberg, were various little clans that had recently settled there, whose remnants are now to be found intermingled with the Basuto. It is unnecessary to give their titles, as their individuality has been completely lost, and none of them were ever of any note.

To the north-east at no great distance was a tribe known as the Batlokua, celebrated among their neighbours as skilful workers in iron and traders in implements made of that metal. They occupied the country along the slopes of the Kathlamba, about the sources of the Wilge and Mill rivers, in the present district of Harrismith. Closely allied with the Batlokua and mixed up with them by intermarriages were the Basia, whose kraals were built along the Elands river. Mokotsho, chief of the Batlokua, about the beginning of the century took as his great wife Monyalwe, daughter of Mothage, chief of the Basia. Their eldest child was a daughter, Ntatisi, after whose birth Monyalwe, according to custom, was called Ma Ntatisi, a name which subsequently acquired great notoriety.

The tribes here mentioned, from the Baputi to the Basia, inhabited a country which is to South Africa what Switzerland is to Europe. It lies along the inner slope of the highest portion of the Drakensberg, and the lowest part of it is more than fifteen hundred metres above the level of the sea. It is almost destitute of trees, but is covered with good pasturage, and its valleys, especially those drained by the streamlets that feed the Caledon, contain excellent soil for agriculture. During the winter months, or from May to August, the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow,

and in summer violent thunderstorms pass over the country and cause it to produce food in abundance for man and beast. The land along the head waters of the numerous streams that flow into the Vaal is thus capable of supporting a dense population, as is also the narrow belt between the Caledon and the Maluti range; but east of that chain the surface is so rugged that it is considered uninhabitable by people who practise agriculture. In winter, however, when the grass in the lower lands is dried up, it is used as grazing ground for horned cattle, which are then driven into it in great herds.

The Bushmen who had escaped destruction when the Bakwena settled in the fertile parts of the territory had taken refuge in this rugged tract, and they occupied also the higher and less accessible parts of the Kathlamba, where they managed to exist in a miserable manner. On rocks in that wild waste of peak rising above peak their rude paintings are still to be seen, and some of these exhibit as accurately as words could do the enmity existing between them and the intruders into their ancient domains. Like all other races they recorded their victories, but not their defeats, and so the big clumsy blacks are seen fleeing, and the little light-coloured aborigines are exultingly pursuing and showering arrows upon their foes.

Parts of the valley of the Caledon have been made by nature almost impregnable. Isolated mountains abound, some of them with their sides of naked rock so nearly perpendicular that the summits are only accessible by two or three narrow paths between overhanging cliffs, where half-a-dozen resolute men can keep an army at bay. The tops of such mountains are in many instances tablelands well watered and affording good pasturage, so that they can be held for an indefinite time.

The western limit of the territory occupied by the Bantu tribes was not defined in any other way than that the people being agriculturists, spread themselves out no farther than they could make gardens, which they could not do on the

arid plains. They were recent immigrants into that part of the country, none of their very old men having been born there, and from the nature of the soil and quantity of rainfall expansion would be towards the south rather than the west. Each party on coming down from the north naturally took possession of the best ground for cultivation that was vacant, or occupied only by Bushmen, who were not regarded as having any more rights than jackals. To these wild people was left the great plain stretching away to the lower Vaal, only because the Bantu could make no other use of it than to hunt the antelopes that grazed upon it.

Beyond the lower Vaal, upon and near the Kuruman river, another but closely related section of the Bantu family was to be found. This was the Batlapin tribe, who had, however, a considerable mixture of Bushman and Korana blood in their veins. Owing to oppression by the more powerful Barolong in former years, they were the least courageous of all the dark-skinned communities bordering on the desert, except the Balala and Bakalahari, who were mere slaves. Next to the northward were the Barolong, and beyond them the Bahurutsi, the Bakatla, the Bangwaketse, the Bakwena, the Bamangwato, and many others whose titles need not be mentioned. This group may be termed the Betshuana or the central tribes of South Africa, as the territory which they occupied is about midway between the Atlantic and Indian oceans. West of them lay the great Kalahari desert. East were numerous kindred tribes, mostly offshoots of the Bakwena stock, occupying the country on both sides of the ridge that separates the waters which flow into the Vaal from those which flow into the Limpopo.

The people that have been named are those with whom the British colonial governments and the Dutch inhabitants of the country have had to deal the longest, but there were many other Bantu in Africa south of the Zambesi at the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century.

South of the upper arc of the Limpopo were the Bavenda group, and between that river and the Zambesi were the

Baroswi broken up into numerous little independent communities, the remnants of the Makalanga, the oldest Bantu inhabitants and once the ruling people in the country, and in the north-west numerous clans of the Batonga, or Batoka as termed by the reverend Dr. Livingstone, living in the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami and along the watercourses in that region. The Batonga were generally blacker in colour than the others, they did not circumcise their children, they knocked out the two upper front teeth as their distinguishing mark, and were generally very degraded in their habits and low in intelligence, but they knew how to hollow out canoes from the trunks of trees and were good boatmen, an occupation unknown to the tribes previously mentioned. They lived largely on fish, an article of diet generally rejected by the people farther south.

On the border of the Indian ocean south of the Zambesi were numerous small tribes, a few of them descendants of the people found there by the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but far the greater number were recent immigrants from the distant north. There also, around Delagoa Bay, were Batonga, who, however, had made greater advances in knowledge and mechanical arts than those in the distant interior, as for nearly three centuries they had been in contact with white men who had visited them for trading purposes.

The country between the Zambesi and the south-eastern coast was then not as thickly populated by Bantu as it is to-day under European rule, but it contained as many as it was capable of supporting under the system of perpetual feuds and robberies which was the ordinary condition of their existence. In these feuds many lives were lost, but for more than two centuries there had been no wars carried on with the avowed object of exterminating the whole of the people in an enormous area and of turning the land into a desolate waste. At the close of the sixteenth century there had been a terribly destructive inroad, and the descendants of the men who then acted with the ferocity of tigers, who

even feasted on the bodies of their victims, were now about to repeat the deeds of their ancestors.

About the year 1783, or perhaps a little later, one of the wives of Senzangakona, chief of a tribe termed from the name of its founder the Amazulu, gave birth to a son who was destined to be one of the most ruthless conquerors the world has ever known, and consequently to tower high in barbarian fame above all the traditional heroes of antiquity as well as of all his own contemporaries. He was named Tshaka. Unandi, his mother, was not the great wife of Senzangakona, and thus he was not the heir to the chieftainship. At the time of his birth the Zulu tribe, whose kraals were on the banks of the river Umvolosi, was small and without influence. It was not even independent, as it was tributary to the Abatetwa. The only reputation the Zulus then had was that of being keen traffickers, expert pedlars of such wares as constituted the basis of commerce in South-Eastern Africa. But the passion for blood, which their forefathers had so signally displayed, was merely dormant within them, and only an opportunity was wanting to call it into activity.

Tshaka grew up to be in person one of the handsomest of the well-formed men that composed his tribe. In all the feats of agility in which the youths of his people took so much delight he was unequalled, if Zulu traditions are to be believed. At that time white men had no intercourse with any of the coast tribes beyond the Amaxosa, and our knowledge of Tshaka's early life is therefore drawn entirely from Bantu sources. But from 1824 to the date of his death he was frequently visited by Europeans. Among these Messrs. F. G. Farewell, J. S. King, H. F. Fynn, and N. Isaacs have given accounts of him, and they all describe him in similar terms. In 1825 Mr. King wrote of him as "upwards of six feet in height and well proportioned, the best pedestrian in the country, and exhibiting in his exercises the most astonishing activity." He appeared then to be about thirty-six years of age, but he must have been older.

While Tshaka was still a youth he excited the jealousy of his father, and was compelled to flee for his life. He took refuge with Dingiswayo, chief of the Abatetwa, his father's feudal lord. This Dingiswayo was a man who had gone through some curious adventures, and had seen some strange vicissitudes of fortune. In his younger days he had been suspected of treasonable designs against his father Jobe, and only escaped death by the devotion of one of his sisters. With her aid he managed to get away from the executioners who were sent to kill him, and then for many years he was lost sight of by his people. They believed him to be dead, instead of which he was wandering from tribe to tribe, until at length he reached the border of the Cape Colony. While he was there a military expedition was sent to the frontier, probably the one under General Vandeleur in 1799. If it was this one, the chief topic of conversation among the Amaxosa would certainly be the engagement with Cungwa's clan, in which a few trained soldiers drove back a large body of Xosas and inflicted upon them tremendous loss. At any rate Dingiswayo in his wanderings came to hear something about the European military system, and he reflected a good deal upon what he heard.

This is the story of his wandering which his people afterwards told, and which was believed by them to be correct. There is nothing either improbable or impossible in it. But it is not necessary to suppose that he must have acquired his knowledge of military organisation entirely from what he saw or heard in the Cape Colony, for the ancestors of the tribes between the Umkomanzi river and Delagoa Bay were acquainted with the regimental system and with the method of attack in the form of a crescent two centuries before his time, and he may have heard accounts from antiquaries of what had been the custom in those respects in the olden days, if the practice itself had died out, which seems somewhat doubtful, though in tribes under feeble chiefs such knowledge might soon be lost.

Prior to this date the method of conducting war by all the interior tribes and by those on the coast south of the Umkomanzi was very simple, but not very effective. The chiefs led their followers, and were obeyed by them, but the army was really an undisciplined mob. It was divided into two bands, the veterans who wore plumes, and the young men whose heads were bare. Each warrior was trained from early youth to the use of his weapons, but was never drilled to act in concert with his fellows or to perform the simplest military evolution. A campaign was a sudden swoop by an unorganised band upon the enemy, and seldom lasted longer than a few days.

While Dingiswayo was gathering information Jobe died, and the Abatetwa, believing that the rightful heir had perished, raised the next in succession to be their chief. But by some means the wanderer came to hear of his father's death, and sent word to the tribe that he intended to return. The message was followed by news of his approach, and it was announced that he was mounted on an animal of wonderful strength, beauty, and speed. The Abatetwa had not yet seen a horse, so that the excitement caused by their lost chief's return was considerably heightened by his making his appearance on the strange animal. There was no doubt as to his identity, and he was received with delight by the majority of his late father's subjects. His brother made a feeble resistance, but was easily overcome and put to death.

Dingiswayo now set about turning the information he had gained to some account. He formed his men into regiments, and appointed officers of various grades to command them. When this was accomplished he made war upon his neighbours, but was satisfied with conquest, for, though ambitious, he was not particularly cruel. Such was the chief under whose protection Tshaka placed himself. The Zulu refugee became a soldier in one of Dingiswayo's regiments, from which position he raised himself by courage and address to a situation of command.

When Senzangakona died the Zulus feared to acknowledge his legitimate heir, who was a minor, as his successor, without first consulting their paramount lord. They therefore applied to Dingiswayo, who, trusting to the fidelity of Tshaka, nominated him to the vacant chieftainship. He was accepted by the tribe, but remained with the army of the Abatetwa, and by his valour and skill rose step by step until he found himself its most distinguished general. As long as Dingiswayo lived, Tshaka served him faithfully. But at length, in a skirmish with a tribe which he had made war upon, the chief of the Abatetwa was made prisoner, and was put to death by his captor. His great wife had no male child, and the succession was left in dispute among boys of inferior rank.

The army then did what armies in such circumstances are prone to do: it raised its favourite general to supreme power. Tshaka now conceived schemes of conquest on a vast scale, and devised a much more perfect system of organisation and discipline than had before existed. It had always been a habit with the Bantu when in close combat to break their assagai shafts short so that they could be used to stab with. He had learned by experience that the weapon in this state was much more effective, and he improved upon it by making the blade longer and heavier, so that it became equivalent to a short two-edged sword fit for cutting or piercing. This was made the warrior's chief instrument of offence, without which he could not return from battle under pain of death, but he carried also several ordinary assagais for throwing at a distance. The shield was enlarged, so as to cover its bearer's body more completely. The organisation into regiments was perfected, and an order of battle was devised—or perhaps re-adopted after long disuse by the people—in the form of a crescent, with a reserve in the shape of a parallelogram behind, ready to strengthen any hardly-pressed point.

The warriors were well fed and constantly drilled until the army became as efficient as it could be made. The

women also were organised as gardeners, and upon them devolved the task of supplying the military camps with boiled corn and millet beer. Beef, however, was at all times largely consumed, and was the only diet when an army was on the march. The young men were not permitted to take wives without the consent of the chief, which was never given to a regiment until it had distinguished itself, in other words until it was steeped in human gore. Circumcision was abolished, as no longer necessary to mark the state of manhood, and as interfering with the drilling of the youths.

The world has probably never seen men trained to more perfect obedience. The army—consisting of from forty to fifty thousand soldiers—became a vast machine, entirely under command of its head. There was no questioning, no delay, when an order was issued, for to presume upon either was to court instant death. Most extraordinary tasks were occasionally required of a regiment to prove its efficiency in this respect. At a review an order would sometimes be given which meant death to hundreds, and the jealousy between the regiments was so great that if one hesitated for a moment, the others were ready to cut it down.

Tshaka governed his people with such cruelty as is hardly comprehensible by Europeans. Every one who displeased him in any way was put to death. All who approached him did so unarmed and in a crouching posture. He never admitted any woman to the rank of wife, though at his various places of residence over twelve hundred females were maintained. His custom was to distribute to his favourite officers such of these women as he no longer cared for, when their places were supplied by captives. To prevent rivalry by members of his own family, he allowed no son of his to live. And yet his people were devoted to him, so proud were they of the military fame which his genius enabled them to acquire.

Tshaka's first aggressive movement was against the tribes on his northern border. They tried to resist, and in anger

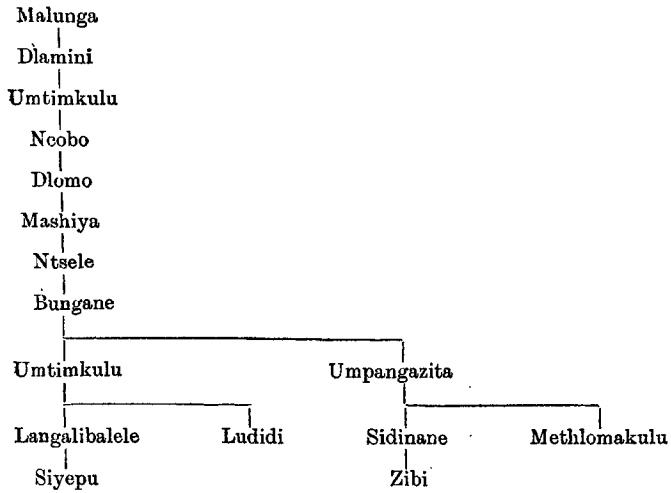
he ordered them to be destroyed. No one was to be spared except the young girls, who were to be brought to him, and stout boys, who could serve as burden-bearers for the army. All the others, men, women, and infants, were to be put to death. Their cattle were to be brought to him, and all other property was to be burnt. This system, once commenced, was carried out ever afterwards. Some tribes saved themselves by begging to be received as Zulus and conforming in all respects to the new customs, others tried to escape by cutting their way through those in advance, but most of them perished utterly.

Of those that fled, the first was under the chief Swangendaba, who was at the head of a horde that afterwards took the name of the Angoni. He forced his way northward past Delagoa Bay, and inflicted great losses upon the people in that direction. For nearly two years he remained as a scourge in the present Portuguese territory, and then attempted to settle on the Sabi river. He was followed by a tribe under a chief named Manikusa, otherwise called Sotshangana, who fell upon him at the Sabi, defeated him, and compelled him to move away. Swangendaba then fled across the Zambesi to the western shore of Lake Nyassa, where the Angoni remained to prey upon the earlier inhabitants. Manikusa, who before encountering Swangendaba had created awful havoc among the tribes along his line of march, during nearly forty years thereafter moved up and down from Delagoa Bay to the Zambesi, saturating the present Portuguese territory and Eastern Rhodesia with blood. *

Next to flee from the Zulu spear was the great Amangwane tribe, whose home was on the Buffalo river, south of Tshaka's original domain. They were under a chief named Matiwane. The Amahlubi, who lived between the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, were in their line of flight. If the various sections of these Hlubis, who have thriven

* A more complete account of Swangendaba and Manikusa will be given in a chapter upon the Portuguese possessions in South Africa.

greatly under European rule since 1835, could be united again, they would to-day form the largest tribe in South Africa excepting the Basuto; and as some of their chiefs during the later years of the nineteenth century became conspicuous men, a genealogical table of the ruling family is here given:



The Amangwane fell upon the Amahlubi, and drove them from their homes with dreadful slaughter, in which both their great chief Bungane and his principal son Umtimkulu perished. Some clans of the defeated tribe fled southward; others, under Umpangazita, the second son of Bungane in rank, endeavoured to escape by crossing the mountains to the westward. An incident strikingly illustrative of barbarous life caused them to set their faces in this direction. Some fifteen or eighteen months previously a quarrel had taken place between Umpangazita and his brother-in-law Motsholi, who thereupon left the Hlubi country with two or three thousand followers, and took refuge with the Batlokua. The chief Mokotsho was then dead, and his widow, Ma Ntatisi, was acting as regent during the minority of her son Sikonyela.

Ma Ntatisi received Motsholi with hospitality, and for about a twelvemonth the intercourse between the Batlokua and the strangers was of a friendly nature. But Motsholi, when visiting Ma Ntatisi, would never partake of food presented to him, and was always accompanied by some of his own followers carrying provisions for his use. He assigned as a reason that what was offered to him was the food of the deceased Mokotsho, as if he would say that he suspected Ma Ntatisi of having caused Mokotsho's death by poison, and feared to eat what she offered lest he might share the same fate. This came at length to be considered a gross insult by the regent and her people.

In the winter of 1821 Sikonyela, then about sixteen or seventeen years of age, was circumcised, when he determined to notify his entrance into the state of manhood by a deed which he thought becoming a warrior. He was of a particularly savage disposition, and was possessed of unusual bodily strength and agility, so that he was in very deed a perfect representative of the wild cat, the siboko of his tribe. With a band of youthful adherents he fell by stealth upon Motsholi, killed him and about twenty of his people, and drove off the cattle. The murdered chief wore a necklace without a fastening, and to obtain this Sikonyela cut off his head.

Some of the adherents of Motsholi fled to Umpangazita, and informed him of what had taken place. It was just then that the Amahlubi were compelled to leave their own country. Umpangazita thereupon resolved to demand with the assagai the restoration of the well-known necklace from the treacherous Batlokua, and to avenge the death of his brother-in-law while escaping from his own antagonist. It is owing to this circumstance that the interior tribes accuse the Batlokua of being the cause of the wars of extermination west of the Drakensberg.

The Amahlubi were closely followed by the Amangwane, and so hot was the pursuit that the aged and feeble with thousands of helpless children were abandoned on the way,

that the more vigorous might escape. They crossed the Drakensberg and fell upon the Batlokua, who were dispersed and compelled to abandon all their possessions. The whole of the people living along the streams which flow into the upper Vaal were then driven from their homes. In one great horde they fled, and, crossing the Vaal, fell upon the inhabitants of its northern bank. Their principal leader was named Tshuane, but the one whose fame has been most widely spread was Ma Ntatisi, the chieftainess of the Batlokua. A tall, slender woman, lighter in colour than most of her tribe, and with regular features that were more Asiatic than African in outline, she possessed the qualifications requisite for controlling barbarians. Europeans who met her in later life described her as of dignified demeanour, tawny rather than black in colour, acute in reasoning, and possessed of considerable ability. In her youth she must have been handsome, though her eyes were cold and piercing, such as command obedience without inspiring affection. She was uttterly callous to human suffering. Such was Ma Ntatisi, the mother of Sikonyela, the terrible exterminator of the Bakwena north of the Vaal. From her the whole fugitive horde, though composed of the remnants of numerous tribes that remained distinct from and independent of each other, has ever since been known as the Mantati destroyers.

In the horde was a remnant of the Bapatsa, a tribe that had been attacked by the Amahlubi and nearly exterminated. It was under the leadership of a young man named Sebetoane, who was destined at a later date to build up a great power on the Zambesi.

In it was a large and important remnant of the Bataung or Leghoyas, under the chief Molitsane, a nephew of Mopete, the paramount ruler of the tribe, who was soon afterwards killed by Sifunelo, the father of the Barolong chief Moroko. Molitsane then became the most prominent man among the Bataung, though Makwana, son of Mopete, was regarded by them as their paramount chief.

A considerable number of people belonging to coast tribes were also in it. The most important of these was a section of the Amazizi, that had tried to make a stand under the chief Matlapatlapa in the Kathlamba, but had been driven onward and obliged to join the other fugitives.

There was hardly a tribe along the upper Caledon that had not representatives in it, for most of those who managed to escape from their homes before the advance of the Amahlubi and Amangwane were forced into the fugitive horde just as animals of various kinds are driven in a fixed direction by a band of hunters.

After crossing the Vaal, the Mantatis turned to the north-west, and created awful havoc with the tribes in their line of march. As each was overcome, its cattle and grain were devoured, and then the murderous host passed on to the next. It might be thought that those who were threatened with extinction would unite at such a juncture and try to devise a plan of resistance, but nothing of the kind took place. The rumour spread far in advance that a great invincible host was approaching, led by a woman of gigantic stature with a single eye in the middle of her forehead, who fed her followers with her own milk when they had not grain or cattle or human flesh to consume. The tribes who listened to these tales and believed them were so paralysed with fear that they could form no other plan of saving their lives than hiding on the nearest mountain or in some secluded place. The relation between the different communities was such that if one had attempted to flee it would certainly have been robbed of everything it possessed by any other more powerful than itself that it might encounter. Thus the Bakwena tribes remained isolated along the line of advance of the Mantati horde.

The strength of the Mantatis was partly kept up by incorporating captives in the usual manner, but vast numbers of the invaders, especially of women and children, left their bones mingled with those of the people they destroyed. Twenty-eight distinct tribes are believed to have disappeared,

leaving not so much as a trace of their former existence, before the Mantatis received a check. Then Makaba, the renowned chief of the Bangwaketse, taking advantage of an opportunity when they were encamped in two divisions at a distance from each other, fell upon them unawares, defeated them, and compelled them to turn to the south.

In this direction, the Barolong lay in their route. These they dispersed and drove into the desert, and then they fell upon the Batlapin. They took possession of Lithako, the second Batlapin kraal in importance,—which contained about four thousand inhabitants according to the estimate of the reverend Mr. Campbell, who visited it in 1820,—and were about to march to Kuruman, where the chief Mothibi then resided, when they were attacked by a band of Griquas under Andries Waterboer, Cornelis Kok, Adam Kok, and Barend Barends, on the 26th of June 1823. These Griquas were induced to take the field by the influence of the reverend Robert Moffat, then a missionary at Kuruman, and Mr. Melvill, agent at Griquatown of the Cape government, and though they were only a hundred in number, as they were mounted and armed with guns they did not fear the encounter. They were accompanied by five or six hundred Batlapin warriors, armed with assagais, battleaxes, and bows with poisoned arrows, but these people were of little or no service, as they did not venture to approach the Mantatis within fighting distance.

The horde was estimated by Messrs. Moffat and Melvill as at least forty or fifty thousand in number, including women and children. One section of it occupied the town of Lithako, and the other was encamped in a circle on a plain close by, surrounding a herd of cattle, when the two white men and the Griquas rode up. Every possible effort was made by Mr. Moffat to obtain a parley, but without avail, as on approaching for that purpose, a band of warriors always rushed out and hurled weapons at him and his companions. The Griquas then took aim at the leaders and principal men, and being accurate marksmen, killed and wounded many.

Riding hastily away to reload, they returned and poured in another volley, all the efforts of the Mantatis to surround or even overtake them being in vain. This mode of combat, if combat it can be called, they continued until between four and five hundred warriors, including two of the leading chiefs, were killed, and a great many more were wounded, when the horde fled in a panic, leaving its cattle in the hands of the Griquas.

A number of women nearly dying of hunger, some men in the same condition, a few children, and the warriors who were too severely wounded to retreat, were left behind. Upon these the Batlapin now fell with savage fury, cutting off their arms with battleaxes or stabbing the wretched creatures to death. Messrs. Moffat and Melvill endeavoured to restrain the barbarians, and succeeded in saving some women and children, but all of the others perished. After this second defeat the Mantati horde broke up into several sections.

One of these, including the Bapatsa, after wandering about for some time went northward, inflicting great losses on the tribes in its course, and years afterwards was found by the reverend Dr. Livingstone on a branch of the Zambesi. It was then known as the Makololo, and its chief was the celebrated Sebetoane.*

Another section returned to the Caledon, and under Ma Ntatisi and her son Sikonyela took an active part in the devastation of the country along that river. The people composing this branch of the Mantati horde were of various clans, but henceforth they were all called Batlokua, as their chief was originally the head of the tribe of that name.

Some smaller bands wandered about destroying until they were themselves destroyed.

One band, the section of the Bataung under the chief Molitsane, moved up and down the wasted country for years, until it settled for a time at Philippolis in vassalage to the Griqua captain Adam Kok.

* An account of the Makololo, from the formation of the tribe to its extinction, will be given in another chapter.

Great numbers of these people perished of starvation. Others tried to make their way to some distant country where food could be obtained, a few thousands of whom managed to reach the Cape Colony in a half-dying state. They made their appearance on the northernmost farms as skeletons covered with wrinkled skins, barely able to creep along, and fighting with each other for garbage that only a vulture would not turn away from. The landdrosts collected them together and furnished them with food, when under the name of Mantatis, often corrupted into Makatees, and Goës, a corruption of Leghoyas, they were apprenticed to farmers, many of them to the British settlers in Albany. The death rate among them was for some time very high, but they recovered strength much quicker than Europeans in similar circumstances would have done.

Excepting these and the clan of the Bataung under the chief Makwana, who managed to hide away for a time, the whole of the Bantu inhabitants of the territory between the Vaal and the head waters of the Caledon passed out of existence.

While the Mantatis were destroying the tribes north of the Vaal, the Amahlubi and the Amangwane, still fighting with each other, continued their warfare with those living south and east of the Caledon. At that time, when these people most needed an able head, there was not a single man of note among them. Motlomi, chief of the Bamonaheng, whose name is still held in great veneration by the Basuto, exercised influence over them all during his lifetime, but he died in 1814 or 1815, and there was no one of sufficient ability to take his place. It was therefore not as one strong determined people that the Bakwena tribes recently settled in that territory met the torrent of invasion, but as little bands, each trying to hold its own, without a common plan of action.

Vast numbers of people of all ages died by the club and assagai. In a short time the cattle were eaten up, and as the gardens ceased to be cultivated, a terrible famine arose.

Thousands, tens of thousands, of people perished of starvation, other thousands fled from the wasted land, and many of those who remained behind became cannibals. The Bafokeng are believed to have been the first to resort to this horrible practice, and they certainly carried it on to a greater extent than any of the others, though it was by no means confined to them. The life of a Bushman had never been regarded differently from that of a jackal, and now those wild people were hunted down in their mountain retreats exactly as if they had been klipspringers, and with the same object of using them for food. Most of them perished, and when no more were to be captured the cannibals turned to people of their own race and preyed upon them. But revolting as such a practice is, it does not indicate inferiority of intellect or great propensity to cruelty. The cannibal Bafokeng were equal in every respect to those of their race who were not obliged to resort to human flesh for sustenance, and were vastly higher in the scale of civilisation than the Bushmen, who were their victims, but who would have died rather than follow their example.

It is impossible to form an estimate of the number of individuals belonging to the tribes on the western slope of the Drakensberg who perished at this time. The losses of the Batlokua and their allies the Basia and some others alone can be approximately computed. They were reduced from about one hundred and thirty thousand to fourteen or fifteen thousand, only a small proportion of the loss being from dispersion. If the destruction of human beings in the northern part of what is now the Lesuto and in the territory between it and the Vaal be estimated at three hundred thousand, that number must be under the mark.

Before this time the lower terraces of the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers were the most densely peopled districts of South Africa. The soil was rich, the water plentiful, the climate such as the Bantu of the coast love. If the tribes there—the descendants of the Abambo—had united for defence, they might have succeeded in holding

their own; but combination in time of danger, apparently so natural, is seldom resorted to by barbarians. Frequently, on account of some petty jealousy, they rejoice at the downfall of neighbours, and lack foresight to see that their own turn will come next. It was so with the tribes between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu. One after another they were attacked, and though several of them fought desperately, all were overpowered and ruined. Some instances of obstinate defence by isolated parties are still preserved by tradition, of which the following may serve as a specimen:

Umjoli, chief of the Abasekunene, had taken to wife a woman named Gubela, of the Amabele tribe. The Amabele were dispersed by the Amabaca, who were cutting their way southward, but the Abasekunene still remained on the ground they had occupied for more than two centuries, ever since their arrival with the remaining sections of the Abambo horde from their previous abode beyond the Zambesi. Gubela was a person of most courageous disposition, and as her husband's character was just the reverse, she placed herself at the head of his warriors, and resolved to die rather than flee. For a long time she succeeded in defending herself and the portion of the tribe that adhered to her, for after her first achievements she separated from her craven husband, and the people were divided between them. Her name soon grew so famous that a song was composed in her honour, two lines of which read as follows:

> At Gubela's they don't use bars to kraals (*i.e.* cattle folds),
> But for gates make heaps of heads of men.

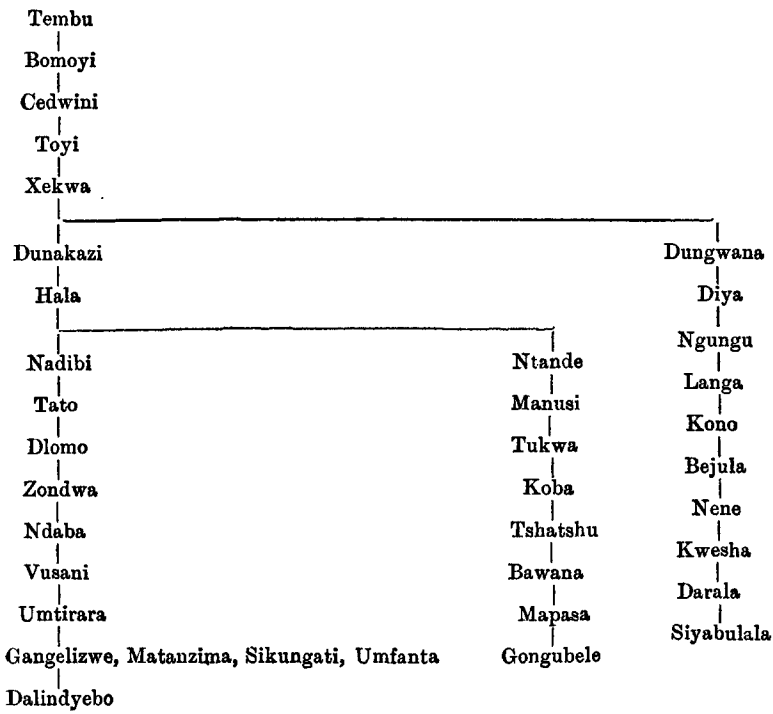
Valour, however, did not prevail, and in the end Gubela's people shared the fate of all the rest.

A horde of fugitives gradually made their way southward along the second terrace above the coast, fighting at one place, resting for months at another, until they reached the Umgwali river.

The Tembu tribe at that time occupied the district near the sea between the Bashee and Umtata rivers, but one of its offshoots had wandered away to the north-west, and had

settled on the eastern bank of the Tsomo. Between this party of wanderers and the Galeka branch of the Xosas there was a close alliance ever since Kawuta, father of Hintsa, had taken to wife a daughter of Tshatshu, chief of those people.

The Tembus were similar in every respect to the Xosas, except that they had a smaller mixture of Hottentot blood in their veins. The two tribes, though each formed of the fragments of others welded together in some way now forgotten, in the not very remote past were one people, and some of their antiquaries give the name of a chief from whom the ruling families of both are descended, but others dispute the genealogy beyond Tembu. The line from him is agreed upon by all, and is as follows:



At the time of the occurrences related in this chapter the paramount chief of the tribe was Vusani, or Ngubencuka, as he was sometimes called from the hyena-skin robe which he wore (ingubo = a robe, incuka = a hyena).

Between the Tsomo and the Indwe rivers there were a few scattered kraals of Xosas, under petty captains acknowledging Hintsa as their chief. West of the Indwe there were no Bantu whatever, the only occupants of the territory between that river and the Zwart Kei—the colonial boundary—being roving Bushmen, except when a farmer from the Tarka occasionally drove his cattle there for a change of pasture.

The horde that has been mentioned as coming down from the north after the death of Gubela was under a chief named Madikane, whom rumour described as a giant covered with hair, and with nails like the talons of eagles. Madikane was resting and feasting on spoil near the source of the Umgwali river, when, before daylight on the morning of the 20th of December 1824, he was attacked by a combined force of Tembus and Xosas led by Vusani and Hintsa. During the morning Madikane was killed, and his followers were turning to flee, when it rapidly became so dark that some stars appeared. The Tembus and Xosas dispersed in great terror, believing the darkness to be caused by the death of the formidable chief. They had not got far when the sun began to shine again. It is this event that enables us to fix the date with precision, as on the 20th of December 1824 an eclipse of the sun—nearly total—took place.

After the death of Madikane his horde dispersed, and its fragments settled down in a condition of vassalage among the Xosas and Tembus. So did remnants of the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Abasekunene, the Amahlubi, and a few other tribes of less note, who managed to escape by fleeing southward, some before, some after the event just related. Their descendants are the Fingos of the present day. The Amabaca, now living between the Umzimkulu and Tina rivers, are descendants of the remains of the tribe that dispersed the

Amabele, but that met with great reverses itself before it reached the Umzimvubu.

Another remnant of a tribe that may be mentioned as aiding in the confusion and bloodshed, though it did not reach the Umzimvubu until the close of the year 1828, was a fragment of the Amakwabi, then under the chief Qeto. At the commencement of Tshaka's career the Amakwabi occupied a tract of land along the coast, with the Tugela river as their northern boundary. Like many other chiefs, Qeto deemed it his wisest course to join the great conqueror, and he therefore requested and obtained permission for his people to be incorporated in the Zulu tribe. He was made an induna, and for several years served as commander of a regiment. After the murder of Tshaka he opposed Dingan, and being defeated, fled southward with a small band of followers. The only people left in the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers were the remnants of a few clans who had concealed themselves in thickets, some of whom had adopted cannibalism as a means of existence, and Qeto therefore was unmolested in his flight. He fixed his residence in a strong position in the neighbourhood of the Umzimvubu, and one more marauder was added to those previously living on the border of the Pondo country. The murder by this treacherous chief of Lieutenant Farewell and his companions, who in September 1829 imprudently placed themselves in his power, is the event which caused his name to be long held in remembrance by Europeans in South Africa, but many of his acts towards people of his own colour were equally savage and unscrupulous. The Pondos regarded him as a tiger, and at length in a spirit of exasperation resolved to hunt him down at any cost. Their warriors succeeded in driving him and his whole band over a precipice, where every one of the gang was dashed to pieces. It was the bravest deed that a Pondo army ever performed.

Meantime the Amangwane and Amahlubi on the western side of the Drakensberg were doing their utmost to destroy each other. At last, in a great battle that was fought on the

banks of the Caledon between Matiwane and Umpangazita, or Pakalita as he was called by the inland people, the Hlubis were defeated with great slaughter. The chief and those who escaped fled to a mountain, but were followed by the enemy, and driven from the stronghold. In the last stand that they made, near Lishuane, Umpangazita was killed. Most of the young men were then taken to be carriers for the Amangwane. Soon after this an army sent by Tshaka fell upon Matiwane, who was defeated and compelled to flee. Crossing the Orange river and the Kathlamba mountains in a southerly direction, he attacked the Tembus.

On the 24th of August 1827 despatches from the landdrost of Somerset reached Capetown, informing the acting governor that a body of Tembus about three thousand strong had been driven over the Zwart Kei river into the colony by an invading force from the interior. The Tembus, who were under the chief Bawana, professed to be seeking protection; but the damage which they were doing was little less than if they had been avowed enemies. The landdrost stated that he had gone with a small escort to ascertain something about the people before whom Bawana had fled, but had been observed by them, had been pursued, and had made his escape with difficulty. The troops on the border were marching to the scene of disturbance, and the landdrost had called out a commando of farmers.

General Bourke immediately proceeded to the frontier, travelling with such speed that he reached Grahamstown on the 1st of September. There he was informed that the invaders had retired from the Tembu country, after devastating a large portion of it. He therefore issued instructions for the troops to return to their cantonments, and for the disbandment of the burgher commando. The Amangwane had not gone far from the Tembu country, however, as was afterwards ascertained. The horde had merely ceased plundering and destroying, and had settled for a season on the eastern bank of the Umtata to enjoy the spoil it had acquired.

General Bourke proceeded from Grahamstown to the district which the Tembus had overrun, and had an interview with Bawana. The chief was unwilling to return to his own country, but after some discussion he promised to retire from the colony. This promise he did not carry out, and indeed at that time he was unable to do so, owing to Matiwane's presence on the Umtata. In this condition the matter remained for a twelvemonth.

In 1828 a powerful Zulu force marched southward through Kaffraria, and was posted on the 21st of July about twenty-nine kilometres or eighteen miles beyond the Bashee. Vusani and Hintsa, paramount chiefs of the Tembus and Xosas, assembled their warriors, and to support these chiefs and prevent an invasion of the colony, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, commandant of the frontier, moved towards the Kei with a force of a thousand men, consisting of troops and burghers hastily summoned from the districts of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, Albany, and Somerset.

Upon receipt of this information, the acting governor sent instructions to Major Dundas, landdrost of Albany, to endeavour to obtain an interview with Tshaka, who was reported to be leading his army in person, and persuade him to return to his own country by informing him that his progress would be opposed by the colonial forces.

Without waiting for instructions, Major Dundas with an escort of twenty-four Albany farmers had in the meantime proceeded into Tembuland to ascertain further particulars. On the 26th of July he was present and took part in an engagement between Vusani's Tembus and a small party of Matiwane's people, in which the latter were routed, and a number of cattle were recovered.

It was so difficult to obtain correct intelligence that both Major Dundas and Colonel Somerset believed the defeated force to have been Tshaka's Zulus, and on the 2nd of August, in consequence of this mistake, the commando retired from the bank of the Kei. On the 4th messengers from Vusani and Hintsa reached the retreating troops and

burghers, and informed them of their error, when they at once turned about and marched towards the Bashee.

On the morning of the 27th of August Colonel Somerset sent an interpreter with an escort to hold a parley with a body of men estimated by him to be over twenty thousand in number and supposed to be Zulus. The interpreter was not allowed to approach closely, and his escort was attacked and driven back. This brought on a general engagement, which lasted several hours, and which ended in the Amangwane being utterly routed, without any loss to the Europeans. After their defeat, the Tembus and Xosas fell upon them and nearly exterminated the once powerful tribe. The battle was principally fought by regular troops. Only one hundred and twenty burghers, under Commandant Durand, took part in it, as a strong division of farmers, under Commandant Van Wyk, had been sent previously in another direction. Matiwane with a few warriors fled northward to Dingan, Tshaka's successor, in hope of being favourably received by him. But they were terribly mistaken. Dingan caused the eyes of the fallen chief to be put out, and then left him to die of starvation. Some of his followers were killed with clubs, others had their necks twisted. The Amangwane that were left in Tembuland then lost their distinguishing name, and were absorbed in other tribes, some of them even becoming Fingos.

A searching inquiry was now made, when it was found that Tshaka accompanied his forces as far as the Umzimkulu, where he fixed his headquarters for a time. One of his regiments then laid the Pondo country waste, and the remainder of the army proceeded westward to plunder the Tembus and Xosas. But before the defeat of the Amangwane that army had returned to Zululand. Mr. Henry Fynn, who visited Tshaka on the Umzimkulu, claimed afterwards that the Zulu forces were withdrawn by his advice. At any rate, the colonial commando did not encounter them.

More destructive than any of those that have been mentioned was the force that broke away from Zululand

under Umsilikazi, as it consisted of a highly disciplined body of men, trained to revel in the shedding of human blood. Umsilikazi's father, Matshobane by name, had been in his early years an independent chief, but to save himself and his people from annihilation he had voluntarily sought admission into the Zulu tribe. After his death his son became a favourite with Tshaka, and was raised in time to the command of a large and important division of the Zulu army. In person he was tall and well-formed, with searching eyes and agreeable features. The traveller Harris described him in 1836 as being then about forty years of age, though, as he was totally beardless, it was difficult to form a correct estimate. His head was closely shorn except where the elliptical ring, the distinguishing mark of the Zulu tribe, was left. His dress consisted merely of a girdle or cord round the waist, from which hung suspended a number of leopards' tails; and as ornaments he wore a single string of small blue beads round his neck and three green feathers from the tail of a paroquet upon his head. Such in appearance was Umsilikazi, or Moselekatse as he was called by the Betshuana.

He had acquired the devoted attachment of that portion of the Zulu army under his command, when a circumstance occurred which left him no choice but flight. After a successful onslaught upon a tribe which he was sent to exterminate, he neglected to forward the whole of the booty to his master, and Tshaka, enraged at the disrespect thus shown by his former favourite, despatched a great army with orders to put him and all his adherents to death. These, receiving intimation of their danger in time, immediately crossed the mountains and began to lay waste the country north of the tract depopulated by the Mantatis.

The numerous tribes whose remnants form the Bapedi of our times looked with dismay upon the athletic forms of the Matabele, as they termed the invaders. They had never before seen discipline so perfect as that of these naked braves, or weapon so deadly as the Zulu stabbing spear. All

who could not make their escape were exterminated, except the comeliest girls and some of the young men who were kept to carry burdens. These last were led to hope that by faithful service they might attain the position of soldiers, and from them Moselekatse filled up the gaps that occurred from time to time in his ranks. The country over which he marched was covered with skeletons, and literally no human beings were left in it, for his object was to place a great desert between Tshaka and himself. When he considered himself at a safe distance from his old home he halted, erected military kraals after the Zulu pattern, and from them as a centre commenced to send his regiments out, north, south, and west to gather spoil.

It is impossible to give the number of Moselekatse's warriors, but it was probably not greater than twenty thousand.* Fifty of them were a match for more than five hundred Betshuana. They pursued these wretched creatures, even when there was no plunder to be had, and slew many thousands in exactly the same spirit and with as little compunction as a sportsman shoots snipe.

While this terrible warfare was being waged over the greater part of Africa south of the Zambesi, cultivation of the ground ceased, and nearly the whole of the horned cattle, goats, and sheep were slaughtered for food. Famine followed, and carried off tens of thousands that the assagai had not reached. The number of individuals that perished in the whole of the ravaged country from war and its effects can only be roughly estimated, but it must have been nearer two millions than one.

*The highest estimate of the number of the Matabele is that given by Messrs. Scoon and Luckie, two traders who visited Moselekatse in 1829. They computed the tribe at eighty thousand souls, in which the proportion of children was of course very small. The substance of a diary kept by them was published by Mr. John Centlivres Chase in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July-September 1830. In the same year the reverend Mr. Archbell visited Moselekatse. He estimated the number of the Matabele at sixty to eighty thousand. The lower of these numbers is the estimate of other travellers.

CHAPTER XV.

FORMATION OF NEW BANTU COMMUNITIES WITH WHICH THE CAPE COLONISTS HAD AFTERWARDS TO DEAL.

ALTHOUGH the early history of the people whom we call Bantu, and who speak various dialects of a common language, is unknown to us, we are able to form a tolerably clear idea of what it must have been. In historical times there have been two great wars of extermination among them, of the first of which—1570-1600—we have not full particulars, and can only piece the events together by means of tradition and investigation into the present state of many tribes. The last has been related in the previous chapter.

From the black man himself, except from a few antiquaries, very little direct information is to be obtained, as historical events are either entirely forgotten in the course of three or four generations or are so warped as to be altogether untrustworthy. In some respects he is highly intelligent,—such as in matters relating to the ordinary events of his life, or in conducting a lawsuit,—but in everything that needs prolonged reflection, with rare exceptions, probably due to atavism, he is as a little child. He believes firmly in the existence of ancestral spirits, and that sometimes those spirits come in the form of animals to see him. But if anyone who has had long intercourse with the cleverest of them were to ask such a question as, Did the spirit of Tshawe exist before Tshawe was born in the world? or If that snake in whose form Tshawe comes to visit his children were killed, would the spirit die also? or Will the spirit live for ever, appearing at different times in different animals? no answer would be obtained excepting

I do not know. He never thinks of such a matter, and to follow a question of this kind to its logical conclusion is foreign to his nature. Or ask, Why is it that this man who is a Zizi is cleverer than that man who is of another tribe? and if an answer is obtained at all it will be, Because he has more powerful medicine.

With few exceptions, the man who speaks a Bantu dialect does not desire to think for himself, he prefers to be controlled in everything. In former times he venerated the most cruel and despotic chief, because under the rule of such a man he had far less care than if he had been free to do as he pleased. Bantu women seem bewildered when they are not under the immediate guidance of husbands or fathers, they need some authority to lean upon, just as the men lean upon the chief. Personal independence, republicanism, anything and everything with a tendency to throw him upon himself, is foreign to the hereditary inclination of the black man, it is his nature to submit implicitly to the directions of a superior. From him therefore little information upon any subject except that of his daily life and the line of descent of his chiefs can be obtained.

But deductions can be made from known facts in the history of the Bantu, and if they point always in one direction it is reasonably safe to be guided by them. One of these facts is that a great horde of barbarians, pillaging and destroying all before it, nearly exterminating the tribes on its line of march, appeared on the Zambesi in 1570. A little later people of the same name are found in Natal, where no trace of them can be found before, and some of them have captives from tribes between their new home and the great river of the north. They answer in every respect to each other, even to the dialect in use by both, so there can be no doubt of their being the same people. Still, the details of occurrences when that wave of war rolled over the land cannot be filled in with accuracy, all that is certain being that previously existing tribes were broken up, that new communities composed of the fragments of old

ones welded together by individuals of greater force of character than their fellows were formed, and that these settled at a great distance from their earlier homes.

Of the wars in the early years of the nineteenth century the most minute information is obtainable, and the result was the same. Now it cannot be supposed that these were the only troubles of the kind that the southern Bantu have gone through: it may rather be taken for certain that for an indefinite period of time such violent convulsions took place periodically in the territory north of the Zambesi, and that on each occasion there was a subsequent fusion of different elements.

It is evident that the Bantu do not form a homogeneous race. Some tribes differ from others in personal appearance and in colour of skin far more than Norwegians from Spaniards, or Servians from Greeks. This leads to the belief that an intruding band, speaking the parent dialect of the Bantu language, entered North-Eastern Africa after other races had settled there, and long after the Bushmen had spread over the central and southern portions of the continent. First one small community was conquered and destroyed, except its girls and boys who were incorporated, then, perhaps after a long interval, another community would share the same fate. The main body would break up into fragments, some of which would pursue a conquering course, while others would pass out of existence or be reformed in endless combinations, until the present condition of things would be reached. In no other way can that condition be explained so readily, and as the process in recent years is known, it is not unreasonable to conclude that it was the same in early times.

Strictly speaking therefore the Bantu are not a distinct race, but a combination of many elements mixed together in different proportions, here the remnants of a hamitic community being incorporated, there the remnants of a negro tribe, elsewhere a number of girls of Bushman stock, and these sections again broken up and reformed many times

over. Then came Arabs, and Persians, and Indians,* and mixed their blood with the eastern tribes, while all the time the language of the early intruders, of the band that commenced the career of conquest, held its own, though broken up into numerous dialects. South of the Zambesi, however, with the exception perhaps of the Makalanga, the Bantu speaking people are sufficiently near to each other in blood to be classified as a race in contradistinction to the Hottentots and the Bushmen. To analyse the blood of each tribe is impossible, but it would seem that those now living near the western coast, such as the Ovaherero, have most of the negro element, those of the eastern coast, such as the Amazulu, somewhat less, and those of the centre of the continent, such as the Betshuana and still more the Makalanga, least of all.

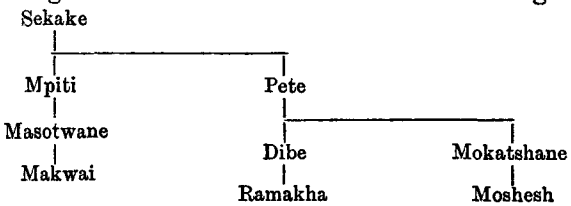
The process of formation of a tribe after such a general convulsion as that described in the previous pages may be exemplified by the instances of the Makololo, the Baramapulana, and the Bapedi, which will be given in other chapters, and of the Basuto, which follows and has had more important consequences than any of the others for European colonists.

While the territory along the head waters of the Caledon was being devastated and the tribes that had lived there were being destroyed, a young man, son of a petty chief of the Baramokhele, began to attract attention. His name was Msheshwe, or, as Europeans pronounce it, Moshesh. His family was one of so little note that among people where the genealogies of men of rank have been carefully handed down for twelve or fifteen generations, antiquarians cannot trace his lineage with absolute certainty beyond his great grandfather. Some of them, indeed, since Moshesh's rise, pretend to give the names of several of his more remote ancestors, but these names are disputed by others, and all

* The number of Indian plants found wild in parts of Eastern Africa proves that there must have been an early intercourse between the two countries, besides which the skeletons—particularly the light pelvis and the oval jaw — of some Bantu indicate a strong admixture of Indian blood.

that is generally agreed to is that the family was in some way related by marriage to the ruling house of the Bamonaheng. Certainty begins with Sekake, a petty chief who died about the middle of the eighteenth century, leaving a son named Mpiti.

If the custom of his people had been followed, after Sekake's death his brothers should have taken his widows; but either by accident or design his great wife fell to one of his friends who was a stranger, being a member of a tribe of the coast region. By this man the woman had a son, who was named Pete. According to European ideas, Pete would certainly have no claim to represent Sekake, but his mother having been Sekake's wife, by Bantu custom he was considered Sekake's son. His elder brother Mpiti was, however, held to be the heir. Pete lived until the year 1823, when he was killed and eaten by cannibals. He left two sons, Dibe the elder, and Mokatshane the younger. About the year 1793 Mokatshane's wife gave birth to a son, who, on attaining manhood, took the name of Moshesh, and subsequently became the most prominent individual in the mountain land. Moshesh was thus by birth only the heir of a younger son of a younger son "by cattle" of a petty chief, a position of very little note indeed. The following genealogical table will show his descent at a glance:—



Many years later, the official praisers, a class of men who attend upon every Bantu ruler, related that Motlomi, the last chief of any consequence among the tribes on the Caledon, had named Moshesh as his successor, and had predicted his future greatness; but their statement rested upon flattery alone. Motlomi was dead long before Moshesh had an opportunity of emerging from obscurity.

The family of Mokatshane was a large one. Among his sons who were born after Moshesh were Makhabane, Poshuli, Mohali, Moperi, and Lelosa.

Moshesh first saw the light at Lintshuaneng, on the Tlotsi, where his father's clan was living. He grew up to be a man of commanding appearance, attractive in features, and well formed in body. In his youth he was an ardent hunter of the elands and other large animals that were then to be found at no great distance from his home, and this exercise developed his strength and activity.

Upon the invasion of his country, Moshesh, then a vigorous young man of eight or nine and twenty years, collected a party of warriors, chiefly his former companions in the chase, and made a stand at the strong position of Butabute. There he was attacked by a band of Batlokua under Ma Ntatisi, who had just returned from their career of destruction north of the Vaal, and were intent on plundering every one who had an ox or a basket of corn to lose. He succeeded in repelling this attack, but in the winter of 1824 Ma Ntatisi appeared again at Butabute, and on this occasion he was compelled to abandon the place, when he and his followers were brought to great distress. He then removed some distance to the south-west and took possession of Thaba Bosigo, a mountain so formed by nature as to be a fortress of great strength, and which has never yet been occupied by a foe. Nonė, a Baputi chief, had a kraal at the foot of the hill, but he was plundered of his provisions by a band under Moshesh's chief warrior, Makoniane, and was then driven away by the new-comers.

Moshesh now conducted various expeditions against the Batlokua and the Amahlubi, and owing to the skill with which his plans were formed, he was invariably successful. His fame as a military strategist rapidly spread, and from all parts of the mountain land men came to Thaba Bosigo to join him. With an impregnable stronghold in his possession, in which the families and effects of his retainers were secure, it was easy for the rising chief to make sudden

forays, and fall upon his enemies at unguarded points. Each successful expedition brought new adherents, until the Basuto of Moshesh became a strong party, devoted to their leader. For two or three years the Amangwane were the most powerful people in the country, and during this time Moshesh paid court to their chief, professing to be his vassal, and paying him tribute from the spoil taken in his excursions.

After the death of Umpangazita in battle, those Hlubis who managed to escape placed themselves under the protection of Moshesh, and with his consent settled in the district of Mekuatling under Sidinane and Methlomakulu, minor sons of their late chief. These people and their descendants, together with some fragments of the Amangwane and other coast tribes subsequently broken, are the Fingos of recent Basuto history.

The flight of Matiwane over the Drakensberg, and the return to their own country of the Zulu army that had defeated him, gave an opportunity to the scattered and impoverished remnants of the various broken tribes to emerge from the places where they had concealed themselves. Some of them joined the Batlokua, who, though now including many recently adopted strangers, were reduced to one-eighth or one-tenth of their original number. They did not return to the land occupied by them before the wars, but settled along the upper Caledon, and began to resume the occupations of an agricultural and pastoral people. Sikonyela, son of Ma Ntatisi, was their recognised chief; but his mother, who was considered a person of ability, still exercised supreme control over the tribe.

A much greater number joined the band whose stronghold was Thaba Bosigo. The government of Moshesh was mild, and he had sufficient wisdom and prudence to spare and protect all who submitted to him, whether they had previously been friendly or hostile. Even parties of cannibals—principally of the Bafokeng tribe, that had been driven by Ma Ntatisi from Leribe and deprived of all their

cattle and grain—left their caves, placed themselves under him, and began again to cultivate the ground. By several successful forays upon some Tembu clans below the mountains, he acquired considerable wealth in cattle. Most of the adult individuals of high rank among the tribes that had settled along the upper Caledon in earlier times had perished, and those that remained were without force of character, so there was no insurmountable obstacle to the people adopting as their head the young chief, whose abilities as a ruler as well as a military leader were soon widely recognised. Moshesh thus became the central figure round whom the scattered and impoverished Basuto rallied, with a view of recovering and retaining the territory that had been occupied by them before the wars, or, more correctly, a portion of that territory, together with the district between it and Kornet Spruit, which had been previously inhabited partly by the Baputi, but chiefly by Bushmen. He had already become by conquest the paramount chief of the clans of mixed blood termed the Baputi, who had abandoned their former home on the Putiatsana and moved southward when the Bakwena tribes occupied the land along the upper Caledon.

At the time of the great devastation the Bamaru branch of the Baputi dispersed in the Cape Colony, but the chief Mokuane and his son Morosi went no farther than the present district of Quthing, on the left bank of the Orange river, where they established themselves.

Early in 1825 a band of Basuto under command of Mohali, a brother of Moshesh, fell upon the Baputi who remained with their chief, and plundered them of nearly everything they possessed, carrying off even their women and children. Some of these were subsequently redeemed with beads, but others were taken as captives to Thaba Bosigo. A few months later, Mokuane made submission to Moshesh, and was received by that rising chief as a vassal. In the tribute which on this occasion he paid was a famous yellow ox of immense size, with horns artificially trained to meet over its nose, the transfer of

which was regarded by the contracting parties in the same light as civilised nations would look upon the affixing of seals to a formal treaty. When this was accomplished, the prisoners were restored to their relatives.

From that time Moshesh was regarded as the supreme chief of the Baputi, and consequently the territorial lord of the land on which they lived. Somewhat later, the scattered Bamaru returned from the different parts of the Cape Colony where they had taken refuge, placed themselves under Mokuane, and lost their old name, being thenceforth known only as Baputi. Though now forming part of the Basuto tribe, these people did not lose their identity, however, but remained under the direct government of their own chiefs, just as did the Makhoakhoa, the Mahlapo, and later the Bataung, with some others, all of whom acknowledged Moshesh as their paramount head.

The condition of the territory between the upper course of the Vaal and Kornet Spruit was thus completely changed from what it had been at the commencement of the century. Where numerous tribes living in plenty had once been, there were left only a few wretched Bataung under Makwana between the Vet and Sand rivers, the Batlokua under Sikonyela on the upper Caledon, and the remnants of all the rest gathered together under Moshesh, whose seat of government was the stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. The Batlokua and Bataung had as much right as the others to be termed Basuto, but to avoid confusion that title is now usually applied only to the last-named division. Moshesh, when addressing his people on important occasions, always used the term Bakwena, a title which appealed to the inmost feelings of the majority of them more than any other, but which except at such times had ceased to be generally employed. Already among his subjects there were many individuals and even little groups not of Bakwena origin, but who had lost their own ruling families and had placed themselves under him. To prevent Tshaka and afterwards Dingan sending an army into the country, the prudent chief professed to be their most obedient vassal, and appeased them by sending frequent subsidies of plumes and peltries.

A short period of rest followed the departure of Matiwane, and then came trouble from the Matabele bands. After a few visits in search of plunder, in 1831 an army sent by Moselekatse besieged Thaba Bosigo, but could not capture the stronghold. When the besiegers were compelled by want of food to retreat, and were in great distress, Moshesh sent them provisions for their homeward journey, with a message that he desired to live in peace with all men. They went away singing his praises, and never appeared in the Lesuto again, though they kept its people in a state of constant fear.

At this time the country between the Orange and the Vaal was infested by Griqua and Korana marauders, the former of whom were principally men who would not submit to the government of Andries Waterboer after he was elected captain of Griquatown, and who were commonly called bergenaars, because they had their strongholds in the Long mountains. These vagabonds would have been altogether despicable if they had not been mounted on horses and armed with guns, animals and weapons not as yet possessed by the followers of Moshesh. They belonged to the Hottentot race, a people physically inferior to the Basuto, and below them in civilisation. Bands of Griquas and Koranas were in the habit of swooping down upon parts of the Lesuto where they were least expected, and carrying off whatever they took a fancy to. The assagai and battle-axe afforded no protection to the victims of these raids against the fire-arms of the plunderers. Men and women were shot down without pity, often through a mere passion for cruelty, and children were carried off to serve their captors as slaves. To ravages of this nature the Basuto were subject for some years, until the Griqua robber-bands were exterminated or dispersed among communities living farther to the westward, and the Koranas suffered reverses which taught them to respect their neighbours.

About the time of the last Matabele inroad, wonderful accounts were beginning to be told in the Lesuto of the great power of certain people called missionaries. Ten years earlier, or about the close of 1821, Moshesh had first

seen white men, a party of colonial hunters, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester, having penetrated to the upper banks of the Caledon and met him there. These hunters had been eye-witnesses of the terrible sufferings of the Basuto at that time, they had even seen instances of cannibalism, and they had been so affected that they distributed whatever food they could spare, and shot all the game they could reach for the starving people. Conduct like this, so different from the actions of men of his own colour, had created a favourable opinion regarding Europeans in the mind of Moshesh. From this date onward white men occasionally visited the country along the Caledon for hunting purposes, and their intercourse with the Basuto was of such a nature as to confirm the first impressions of the chief.

The accounts of the missionaries which reached the Basuto about 1831 were to the effect that they were not only benevolent, courageous, and provided with terribly destructive weapons like other white men, but that they possessed magical powers. In short, they were believed to be the medicine-men of the Europeans. When an individual among the southern Bantu wishes to gain the favour of a chief, he fumigates himself with the smoke of a certain root before making his appearance, in the belief that it will cause the heart of the chief to open to him. The stories told of the reverend Mr. Moffat, missionary among the Batlapin at Kuruman, led to the belief that he possessed a knowledge of some exceedingly powerful medicine of this kind. About the close of 1829 he had visited Moselekatse, who was then living some hundred miles or a hundred and sixty kilometres east of Mosega, and had acquired such influence over that dreaded conqueror that when, during the following two years, the Bahurutsi, Bakatla, Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Barolong, and other Betshuana tribes were nearly exterminated by the Matabele, the Batlapin were spared. The Basuto concluded that Mr. Moffat could only obtain such influence by means of magic, and they became most anxious

to obtain a missionary who would impart such valuable knowledge to them. They were told also of the astonishing effects produced by missionaries at Griquatown and Philippolis. The wild, barbarous Griquas, most of them wanderers who knew nothing of agriculture, people who were without law, had been collected together at these places, and had become comparatively wealthy communities, formidable by reason of their possession of horses and guns.

Moshesh acted in this matter exactly as a chief to-day would act if he desired to obtain the services of a reputed powerful rainmaker, resident in the territory of another chief. He sent an embassy with two hundred head of cattle to Adam Kok, the captain of Philippolis, with a request that he might be supplied with a missionary in return. On the way the cattle were seized by a band of Korana marauders, but the circumstance came to the ears of the reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London society's missions in South Africa, who was then on a tour of inspection, and it led to one of the most important events in the history of Moshesh's tribe, the establishment of missionaries of the Paris evangelical society in the Lesuto.

The first missionaries of this society arrived in South Africa in 1829. They were three in number. One of them, the reverend Mr. Bisseux, took up his residence at Wellington, in the Cape Colony, in order to labour among the slaves in that locality, which was occupied chiefly by descendants of the early Huguenot settlers, members of his own church; and the other two, the reverend Messrs. Samuel Rolland and Prosper Lemue, proceeded to the Betshuana country, and endeavoured to found a station at Mosega, which was then occupied by the Bahurutsi tribe under the chief Mokatla. On their way they were joined by the reverend Jean Pierre Pellissier, who had followed them from France. Their stay at Mosega was brief. The advance of Moselekatse and the destruction of the Betshuana compelled them to abandon that part of the country, and they then founded a station at Motito, not far from

Kuruman, where they collected together a number of fugitives from the north. Mokatla, with a remnant of his people, fled to Taung, on the Hart river.

Meantime two clergymen, Messrs. Eugene Casalis and Thomas Arbousset, and a missionary artisan, Mr. Constant Gosselin, were on their way out to reinforce the station at Mosega among the Bahurutsi. On their arrival in Capetown they learned what had transpired in the interior, and on Dr. Philip's recommendation they turned their attention to Moshesh's country. In June 1833 these missionaries reached Thaba Bosigo, and were warmly welcomed by Moshesh, who gave them permission to settle wherever they chose. They selected a fertile and well-watered valley about forty kilometres or twenty-five miles from Thaba Bosigo, and there established a station which they named Morija (Moriah). The valley when they first visited it was uninhabited, as the Baputi were then the only Bantu living beyond an easy walk south of Thaba Bosigo, but Moshesh sent some members of his own family, among whom were his sons of highest rank, Letsie and Molapo, with a large party of people, to reside close to the white men and be instructed by them.

The subjects of Moshesh were very willing to learn from strangers the arts which made the white men so rich and so powerful. Their views, of course, were at first limited to potent charms and medicines as the principal means of advancement; but in many ways they showed that they were not deficient in brain power, so that the missionaries had good hope of being able to raise them speedily in the scale of civilisation.

Messrs. Arbousset, Casalis, and Gosselin found the strip of country from thirty to forty miles or forty-eight to sixty-four kilometres in width along the north-western side of the Caledon, from about latitude 29° to 29° 30′, thinly inhabited by Basuto. On the opposite or south-eastern side of the river, a similar belt, extending to the Maluti or Peaked mountains, was much more thickly peopled, though its inhabitants were

few compared with the number reached at a later date. Game of many kinds was abundant, which of itself was proof of a sparse and poorly armed population. Along the head waters of the Caledon the Batlokua were living, between whom and the Basuto of Moshesh there was a bitter feeling of enmity.

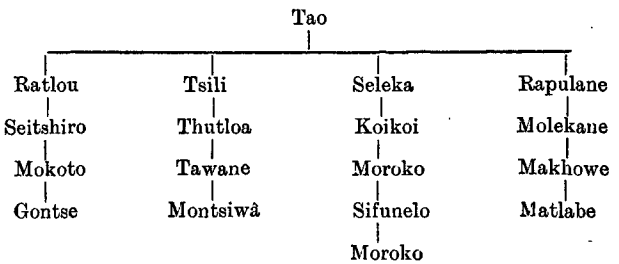
At nearly the same time the reverend Mr. Pellissier, finding that the services of three missionaries were not needed at Motito, was looking for a suitable site farther south for another station. Mr. Clark, one of the London society's teachers, had been for some time engaged in a fruitless effort to instruct some Bushmen and to induce them to settle permanently at a place just below the confluence of the Caledon and the Orange. Dr. Philip transferred the so-called Bushman school to Mr. Pellissier, who named the place Bethulie, and induced a fugitive Batlapin clan from the neighbourhood of Kuruman, under the chief Lepui, to settle there. These were afterwards joined by some refugee Barolong. Bethulie was not peopled by Basuto, nor was a claim to its ground ever made by Moshesh, but from this date there was a close connection between it and the stations of the French society in the Lesuto.

Those individuals of the former tribes south of the Vaal who had fled from their homes when their kinsmen were destroyed heard in the distant districts of the Cape Colony in which they had taken refuge that a chief of their own race was building up a nation, and that his government afforded protection without being tyrannical. They began therefore to return to the banks of the Caledon, and every year now saw a great increase in the population. These refugees brought more than mere numerical strength. Many of them came from Graaff-Reinet and Albany and Somerset, where they had been in service, and these took back with them as the most valued of all possessions the weapons of the white man, which they believed would protect them against suffering again such awful calamities as those they had

formerly gone through. Other refugees were also swelling the population of the Lesuto. Fragments of different broken Betshuana clans, hearing of the wisdom and generosity and valour of Moshesh, came and asked to be taken under his protection. And so his power was growing rapidly, though as yet it was trifling compared with what it afterwards became.

At the end of 1833 the population of the country along the western bank of the Caledon opposite Thaba Bosigo was largely increased by the arrival of several bands of refugees under the leadership of some Wesleyan missionaries. The settlement of these people makes it necessary to give an account of the Barolong after the death of Tao, which event was related in a previous chapter.

With him the power of the tribe ended. Feebleness of character in his descendants of the great line, untimely deaths, and personal feuds combined to break it up. Civil war followed, and the next generation witnessed a number of clans, each really independent of the others, though all admitted a supremacy of rank in the house of Ratlou. The line of descent of those chiefs who have since attained celebrity, though to a very limited extent, is as follows:



It was not alone a division of the Barolong proper that followed the death of Tao, but the conquered clans took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and made themselves independent again. Among these were the Batlapin and the Batlaro, who occupied the southern part of the country. From this time until 1823 the different divisions

of the Barolong were continually moving about from place to place, and it was seldom that all the sections were at peace.

In 1817 the London society founded the mission station of Kuruman with the Batlapin, who were then under the chief Mothibi, and absolutely independent. In 1821 the reverend Robert Moffat went to reside at Kuruman, and very shortly made the acquaintance of the Barolong. He was an eye-witness of the disastrous events of the next few years, and has given a graphic account of them in his *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.*

In 1823 the waves of war which originated in Zululand began to roll over the Barolong country. The Mantati horde, before its defeat by the Griquas at Lithako, destroyed some sections of the tribe. Then its Makololo offshoot attacked and pillaged the clan of Tawane. Next the section of the Bataung under Molitsane fell upon the wretched people, and plundered them. Between the Barolong and the Bataung there was an ancient feud, and on every opportunity they did all possible harm to each other. The principal Bataung chief, Mopete by name, the father of Makwana, at this time was killed in an engagement with Sifunelo, chief of the Seleka branch of the Barolong, even the dire distress to which both were reduced being insufficient to prevent them from fighting.

The clan under Sifunelo then migrated southward, in hope of finding a place where it could live in safety, and early in the year 1823 was fortunate enough in its wanderings to fall in with two Wesleyan missionaries, the reverend Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, who were seeking a field of labour in Betshuanaland. These gentlemen took up their residence with the clan, which shortly afterwards tried to find a resting-place at Makwasi, on the northern bank of the Vaal. On one occasion, during the temporary absence of the missionaries, Makwasi was attacked by Molitsane's Bataung, and a considerable amount of spoil was taken, among which were a few cattle belonging to Mr. Broadbent. Thereupon the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer, constituting

himself protector of the missionaries, proceeded with an armed party to Makwasi, pretended to hold an investigation, found Sifunelo guilty of seizing the cattle, and fined him six hundred oxen. The fine was paid, as the Griqua band was armed with muskets and was too strong to be resisted. It was subsequently ascertained that Sifunelo was entirely guiltless, and through the influence of the missionaries the colonial government brought such pressure to bear upon Waterboer that he restored the oxen. This was the first occasion on which our government had any dealings with the Barolong.

In 1826 Sifunelo's clan left Makwasi, and moving about a hundred and ninety-two kilometres or a hundred and twenty miles to the south-west, halted at Platberg, on the southern bank of the Vaal. There they remained until the close of the year 1833, when the reverend Messrs. James Archbell, John Edwards, and Thomas Jenkins, Wesleyan missionaries who succeeded Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, led them to Thaba Ntshu, a mountain west of the Caledon river and distant from Thaba Bosigo about ninety-six kilometres or sixty miles.

The pressure of circumstances brought the remaining Barolong clans together, and in 1824 Mr. Moffat found the chiefs Gontse, Tawane, and Intshi residing together in one large kraal named Pitsane, which contained some twenty thousand inhabitants, including clans of the Bahurutsi and Bangwaketse. Each chief governed his own section of the kraal. Gontse had the largest following, though Tawane was considered the strongest of them.

The great tribe of the Bangwaketse, under the chief Makaba, the far renowned "man of conquest," was not yet broken. Mr. Moffat went to visit Makaba, and found him living north of the Molopo. His kraals were numerous, but within a small area, owing to the want of sufficient water in the surrounding country for any other purpose than maintaining herds of horned cattle and goats. Some children were offered for sale, at the rate of a sheep or a small quantity of beads for each. The missionary estimated the number of the

Bangwaketse in the kraals that he saw at seventy thousand at the lowest computation, but he had no opportunity of ascertaining how many of the tribe were living at cattle stations nor how many Bakalahari were subject to them, which would have greatly enlarged that estimate.

In 1826 Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain visited the country. He found Tawane with his clan living in a miserable condition by a filthy pool in the bed of the Molopo. The water of the pool was so foul that Mr. Bain's dogs would scarcely lap it. Tawane had been driven by his enemies from his former residence two days' journey farther up the Molopo, but he intended to return immediately. The traveller described the chief as a "sedate-faced old fellow, wrapped up in a dirty buckskin kaross, with a very flat nose and a remarkably projecting under lip."

From Tawane's wretched kraal Mr. Bain went on to the Bangwaketse country. The principal kraal of this tribe was then in a valley called Silokwalali, which the traveller found "literally strewn with human skulls." A short time previously Makaba had fallen in a great battle with the horde under Sebetoane, and his brother Sebegwe was then acting as regent of the remnant of the tribe.*

The condition of the whole country north of the Orange and west of the Drakensberg at this time was such that the Griqua and Korana marauders, who have already been described as devastating the Lesuto, had the Bantu population entirely at their mercy. Little bands of these ruffians,

* Extracts from Mr. Bain's journal were published by Mr. J. C. Chase in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July-September 1830. Makaba's heir, Tshosa by name, rebelled against his father, and was killed in action before the overthrow of the tribe by Sebetoane, but he left an infant son named Gaseyitsiwe. Sebegwe did not long survive his brother, and then Segotsana, guardian of Gaseyitsiwe (pronounced Khah-say-it-see-way), acted as regent until the young chief attained manhood. Bathoën, the present ruler (who supplied me with the information here given), is son of Gaseyitsiwe. His kraal is where the principal one of his great-grandfather Makaba was, at Kanye, as there is not sufficient water elsewhere in his territory to support a large assemblage of people. Close by is the valley which Mr. Bain found strewn with skulls.

mounted on horses and carrying firearms, rode at will from the Caledon to the Molopo, plundering wherever there was anything worth seizure, and shooting every one who offended them.

After these came Moselekatse at the head of the terrible Matabele. In 1830-31 he fell upon the Bangwaketse and nearly exterminated them. The destruction of the Bahurutsi, the Bakatla, and the Bakwena followed next. None of these people ventured to oppose the trained Matabele bands, but whenever any of these were reported to be near they simply tried to escape to the desert and remain there until the plunderers retired. The Bangwaketse, in Makaba's time the most warlike and powerful of all the Betshuana tribes, were now as timorous as the others, having no longer a strong despotic will to control them.

In September 1832 Dingan sent an army against Moselekatse, which succeeded in crossing the open country without being discovered, and made a sudden attack. Although taken by surprise, the Matabele fought desperately, and at length the assailants were beaten off with a loss of three entire regiments, who fell on the field of battle rather than retreat in disgrace. But this circumstance was a proof to Moselekatse that he could still be reached by the Zulus without much difficulty, and, fearing that he might be attacked again by a more powerful force, he moved his headquarters westward to Mosega, where the Bahurutsi had formerly their chief kraal.* From that position he sent his warriors against the Barolong.

Some of these fled to the desert, where they became Balala, poor wandering wretches, with no cattle or gardens, but living like Bushmen on game and wild plants. Part of one clan, with Matlabe, its young chief, was incorporated with the Matabele. Gontse and Tawane with a few followers fled southward. Just at this time the Wesleyan missionaries were preparing to conduct the clan under Moroko, Sifunelo's son, from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba Ntshu. Gontse

* Called Kurrechane by the reverend Mr. Campbell, and which was the farthest point reached by that traveller in 1819.

and Tawane joined Moroko, and moved onwards with him. In the country of the Bahurutsi, Bakwena, Bakatla, Bangwaketse, and Barolong, to use the expressive words of one of the chiefs when giving evidence many years later at Bloemhof, there was now no other master than Moselekatse and the lions.

From the accounts of Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain a great deal of information concerning the country at this time is to be obtained. He attempted to make a collection of specimens of the various animals to be found in it, and for that purpose visited it on hunting expeditions. It was a great waste, teeming with game, where a few Betshuana hunters might occasionally be seen, always in terror that they might be discovered by Matabele soldiers. Cultivation of the ground had of course ceased, and the survivors of the former inhabitants were eking out a miserable existence on the border of the desert, ready to retreat into it on the first report that a Matabele band, however small, was in the neighbourhood. Moselekatse was residing at Mosega, but had military kraals as far from his own as sixty-four kilometres or forty miles. He had enormous herds of cattle, which he had taken from the Betshuana, and with him and his people there was no want of food. He was like a lion on a plain, and the Betshuana were like scattered and affrighted antelopes.

On one of Mr. Bain's hunting excursions he was accompanied by a young man named John Sauer, and took with him a party of Griquas and other Hottentots as drivers and leaders of his oxen and to assist in hunting. He was successful in obtaining a number of giraffes, rhinoceroses, quaggas, and other animals, which were prepared for setting up and were packed away in three waggons, and he was just setting out on his return when at the Molopo river four of his Griqua servants absconded in the night and made their way to the nearest Matabele outpost with a view of stealing some of Moselekatse's oxen. The temptation to lift cattle at a distance of only four or five hours ride on horse-

back was so great that these plunderers by occupation could not resist it.

Mr. Bain immediately foresaw the consequences, and attempted to get away to the south as rapidly as possible, but only reached the Setlagoli river when a band of two hundred Matabele warriors overtook him. He, Mr. Sauer, and the coloured people with them had only time to seize their guns, saddle and mount their horses, and ride through the ring that was nearly formed around them. The Matabele pursued them, but retired after four or five were shot down, though they kept possession of the encampment. The waggons and their contents were burned, the oxen were driven away, and two Griquas were never seen again. Mr. Bain, Mr. Sauer, and their people being mounted, could not be overtaken, but they were in great danger of perishing from thirst and want of food. After enduring much suffering, however, they reached Motito, where they were kindly received and their wants were attended to.

It was in December 1833 that Gontse, Tawane, and Moroko, the heads of three divisions of the Barolong, being the descendants and representatives of three of the sons of Tao, with their respective clans were led by the Wesleyan missionaries to Thaba Ntshu. They were accompanied also by small parties of Koranas, Griquas, and half-breeds, who had no settled home, and for whom the missionaries were desirous of obtaining ground in some place where they could attempt to civilise them. At Thaba Ntshu the strangers found a petty chief named Moseme governing a few people, but he informed them that he was subordinate to Moshesh, and had no power to give them permission to settle.

The Basuto, so long accustomed to regard all strangers as enemies, were somewhat alarmed when tidings were carried through the country that a body of unknown people, among whom were Koranas, had appeared at Thaba Ntshu. Two of the French clergymen immediately proceeded to ascertain particulars, and having learned the object of the strangers, communicated it to Moshesh. The fact that

Europeans were the leaders of the immigrants sufficed to dispel the fears of the Basuto, and Moshesh, glad to get friendly settlers on his border, and hoping they would become incorporated with his own people, cordially consented to their location on the nearly vacant land west of the Caledon.

A document purporting to be an absolute sale to the Wesleyan missionary society of an extensive tract of ground about Thaba Ntshu* was drawn up on the 7th of December 1833, and was signed by Moshesh and Moseme on the one part, and Messrs. Archbell, Edwards, and Jenkins on the other. The price paid is said therein to have been seven young oxen, one heifer, two sheep, and one goat. But there was no competent interpreter present when the arrangement was made, and it is very evident that Moshesh did not regard the transaction in the light of a sale, as he must at that time have been entirely unacquainted with any other system of disposing of land than that practised by tribes of his own race. He could not have comprehended the nature of the document, and in after years he constantly maintained that he had never intended to alienate the ground. On the other hand the Wesleyan missionaries have always held that the ground was not his at the time to alienate, that it was really open for any one to settle upon, and that the deed of sale was only drawn up to prevent any claim to it thereafter being made by the Basuto.

With the same object in view, on the 17th of July 1834 they purchased from Moshesh and Sikonyela jointly an ex-

* Now the district of Moroka in the Orange River Colony. In 1884, after the murder of Tsepinare, successor of Moroko as chief of the Seleka Barolong, by his rival Samuel, the territory was proclaimed part of the Orange Free State. The ground was so much larger than was required by the Barolong that Tsepinare, in imitation of European custom, caused sections of it to be surveyed for different chiefs and also for seventeen or eighteen white men to whom he made grants. These were confirmed by the Free State government, and titles to the grants were issued. The ground occupied by the Barolong was constituted a reserve for their exclusive use.

tensive tract of land bordering on the Caledon, round a place which they named New Platberg in remembrance of their former station on the Vaal. In the deed of sale, which is signed by both the chiefs, it is stated that eight head of horned cattle, thirty-four sheep, and five goats were given in payment; but the view of the missionaries some years later, when Moshesh claimed to be their feudal lord, was that the purchase had been concluded as a friendly arrangement to prevent either the Basuto or the Batlokua from interfering with them or making pretensions to the ownership of the land. It was quite vacant when the new immigrants arrived, having been swept clean by war, but ten years earlier had been occupied by a clan whose few survivors at this time were living under Moshesh.

The whole of the Barolong were located by the Wesleyan missionaries at Thaba Ntshu, where a large kraal was built and a station established. Matlabe was still a subject of Moselekatse, but shortly after this, hearing that his kinsmen had found a place of comparative safety, he made his escape and joined them. Of the four Barolong chiefs then at Thaba Ntshu, Gontse was the highest in rank; but so thoroughly impoverished was he, and so completely had his followers been dispersed or destroyed, that his name hardly ever appears in the numerous documents written at that period by European residents at the station. Being without talents of any kind, he was of no note whatever. Tawane, the next in rank, has left more traces of his residence at Thaba Ntshu, because he had sufficient energy to turn his followers into a band of robbers, and was one of the wasps that Moshesh afterwards charged with having dared to sting him. Matlabe was entirely sunk in obscurity. Moroko alone, owing partly to his clan having fled before the great disasters, and partly to the guidance of the missionaries, was a man of power and influence.

This chief, Moroko, had not the ability of Moshesh, but he was more open in his character, and for a man brought up as a barbarian was exceedingly humane and well disposed.

Almost at first sight he realised the usefulness of many articles of European manufacture, and encouraged his people to endeavour to procure them. The first thing of course to be attended to was to secure a supply of provisions, and by his directions a large extent of ground was immediately placed under cultivation, men and women working together with their heavy hoes, so that when the gathering season arrived, their grain jars were filled with a plentiful supply of millet. They had not many cattle at the time, but they had preserved some, and these were carefully guarded, none being slaughtered for food, even in the time of greatest want. With the milk of their cows, the little grain not needed for seed that they had brought with them from Old Platberg, and wild fruits of the earth they managed to exist until the products of their gardens were ready for consumption, the chief and the missionaries constantly encouraging the people and holding before them the prospect of happier days in the not very distant future.

And so the great kraal of Thaba Ntshu arose, each section of it under its own chief separated by an open space from the others, and all combined containing eight or nine thousand souls, Moroko's section being much the largest. It had the greatest number of dwellings, and was the largest assemblage of people in any part of the country south of the Vaal. In a very short time it was also the best supplied with food and such conveniences as barbarians can make good use of. Moroko's people differed from Moshesh's in that the former lived in a single town with only a few little outposts, while the latter were scattered about in numerous villages.

The other people who were brought by the Wesleyan missionaries at this time to the western bank of the Caledon were:

1. A clan of Koranas under a leader named Jan Hanto, who died shortly after this, and was succeeded by Gert Taaibosch. These were Hottentots, with habits ill-fitted for a settled life, as they were still a purely pastoral people. In disposition, language, and customs, as well as in colour,

they differed from all the members of the Bantu family. The least stable in character of any people on earth, without attachment to locality of birth or residence, so impatient of restraint that their chiefs possessed little or no power, indolent to the last degree, careless about the future as long as immediate wants were supplied, regardless of the rights of others, callous to the sufferings of human beings or dumb animals, these Koranas yet surpassed the Bantu in power of imagination and in speculations upon the workings of nature. The clan under Jan Hanto migrated from beyond the Vaal river, the grounds on which they had previously tended their herds being far away to the north-west. They were now located at Merumetsu.

2. A small party of half-breeds, of mixed European and Hottentot blood, under a captain named Carolus Baatje. These people, who were located at Platberg, came from the northern districts of the Cape Colony, where they had previously been either in service with farmers or wandering about with small herds of cattle. They were armed with guns and were good shots, so that, though few in number, they were regarded as a strong band. They dressed in European clothing, used the colonial Dutch language, and in many respects conformed to European customs, but were so conceited, on account of being partly of European blood, that they were very difficult to deal with. In civilisation they were certainly far in advance of all the other immigrants who accompanied the Wesleyan missionaries to the border of the Caledon, but from their mothers they had inherited an amount of restlessness, indisposition for prolonged industry, and want of frugality, that tended to prevent their advance in wealth or comfort in mode of living.

3. A small party of Griquas under a captain named Peter Davids. This was the remnant of the oldest and much the most important of the various communities that had adopted the name of Griquas, the one with which missionaries of the London society first laboured. It had

grown to be a comparatively large body, consisted of Hottentots and people of mixed European, Hottentot, Bushman, and negro blood, and had lived for many years by hunting and by plundering defenceless tribes, but had recently met with fearful punishment. In July 1831 Barend Barends, who was then its head, sent nearly the whole of his best fighting men on a plundering expedition. The band, with some allied Koranas about a thousand strong, all well-mounted and carrying fire-arms, left Boetsap (in the present colonial division of Barkly West), and by making a long detour to the eastward fell unexpectedly upon the principal Matabele cattle posts and swept off nearly the whole of Moselekatse's herds. The Matabele warriors were at the time engaged in a distant expedition. Only some old men and boys could be got together to follow the Griquas, who were retreating with their booty in such fancied security that they did not even post sentinels at night. Just before dawn one morning they were surprised by the Matabele, when only three Griquas escaped to return to Boetsap and tell the tale of their exploit and the fate of their companions. Barend Barends then with a few of his people retired to Namaqualand, where he wandered about for a couple of years, but eventually returned and died at Boetsap. Those who did not follow his broken fortunes placed themselves under the guidance of the Wesleyan missionaries, and accompanied them to the Caledon. They were located at Lishuane.

At all the settlements mentioned above, and also at Imparani among the Batlokua, Wesleyan missionaries were thereafter stationed.

Immigrants of still another race were now making their appearance in the territory north of the Orange river. As early as 1819 small parties of European hunters began to penetrate the country between Kornet Spruit and the Caledon, and a few years later they occasionally went as far north as Thaba Bosigo. In their wanderings south of that mountain they encountered no other inhabitants than

a few savage Bushmen,* and they therefore regarded the country as open to occupation. About the same time some nomadic graziers of European descent from the district of Graaff-Reinet were tempted to make a temporary residence between the Orange and Modder rivers, on ascertaining that grass was to be found there during seasons of drought in the colony. They did not, however, remain long, nor did they come within several days' journey of the Basuto out-posts. But from this period they continued to cross the river whenever pasturage failed in the south, and gradually they made their way eastward.

At length a party of fourteen or fifteen families settled at a place which they named Zevenfontein, on the western bank of the Caledon below Wilgebosch Spruit and an easy day's ride on horseback from its junction with the Orange, with the intention of remaining there permanently. They found no people in that neighbourhood but Bushmen, and no one objected to their occupation of the land. With this exception, hardly any of the farmers who moved into the district along the Caledon at this early date contemplated settlement. They merely sought pasturage for a few months, or they visited it in hunting expeditions, in either case coming and going as suited their convenience. But, as time went on, when they returned they often found a Basuto kraal where they had grazed their herds on their previous visit, and questions began to be asked as to who had the best right to the ground. At first, however, this was a matter of little importance, for there was still so much vacant land that by one or the other moving a little farther, room could be found for all.

Though portions of the territory occupied by Bantu tribes along the upper Caledon before the devastating wars were in the manner above related again becoming peopled, the

* Some of the Baputi certainly lived there at the time, but they were not numerous, and it did not happen that any of them were met with. One of their largest kraals was at the foot of Thaba Bosigo. Morosi, their best known chief, who was then a youth, was born on the bank of Kornet Spruit.

inhabitants, descendants of the former owners and new settlers alike, were kept in constant alarm. If there had been a disposition to forget that a growth of prosperity would certainly induce a fresh invasion either of the Zulus or of the Matabele, an occasional appearance of the last-named in their neighbourhood served as a reminder of the dangerous situation in which they were living.

In 1834 a band of Matabele, while scouring the country along the Vaal to prevent its occupation, came upon a little party of Griquas who had imprudently ventured on a hunting expedition in that direction. Peter Davids, the captain of Lishuane, was with the party, and with the thoughtlessness characteristic of his race, he had taken his family with him. The consequence was that one of his daughters and a nephew were made prisoners, though the others, having horses, managed to escape. The lives of the captives were spared. In 1836 the traveller Harris saw the girl in Moselekatse's harem at Mosega, and ascertained that the boy was still alive.

Besides the formation of the Basuto tribe under Moshesh and the preservation of several sections of the Barolong, both of which events were destined to have important effects at a later date, the dispersion of part of the Tembu tribe was a matter of much consequence to the Cape Colony. After the destruction of the Amangwane, Bawana's people —since termed the emigrant Tembus — were induced to leave the Tarka. Being strengthened by other refugees, they spread themselves thinly over the whole territory between the Stormberg on the north and the Winterberg on the south, from the Indwe to the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers. They came thus to be neighbours of the colonists, and were in a position where they could cause much annoyance.

The condition of that portion of Africa south of the Zambesi occupied by the Bantu during the ten years preceding 1836 was therefore as follows:

Tshaka, and after September 1828 his successor Dingan, usually resided on the Umvolosi, and kept the country

beyond their kraals southward to the Umzimvubu almost unpeopled. To the north as far as Delagoa Bay the Zulu power was supreme, except in Swaziland, where the people, though frequently attacked, managed to preserve their independence. They were of martial disposition, and, though few in number compared with their assailants, their mountains enabled them to make a successful stand. The subjects of the Zulu chiefs lived under the most perfect despotism the world has ever known, their lives were at the disposal of their rulers, and not a day passed without numerous deaths by violence at the bidding or even at a wave of the hand of one or the other of these human hyenas. Private property there was none, everything belonged to the chief. The land was a land of blood, and yet its people gloried in their murderous despots and the military fame acquired through their means.

Sotshangana resided chiefly on the Sabi, but moved up and down the territory along the coast between the lower Zambesi and Delagoa Bay, keeping it in a state of perpetual unrest, though he did not destroy all of its earlier inhabitants. His career will be related in another chapter.

Sebetoane was living north of the Zambesi, but had brought the whole of the Batonga and Baroswi, or Barotsi, to a considerable distance south of that river under subjection, and ruled over the inhabitants as far as the lake Ngami. His government was much less cruel than that of Dingan or even Sotshangana, still to a sensitive European mind it was insufferably arbitrary and oppressive, though perhaps one thoroughly acquainted with Bantu ideas might consider it not stricter than necessary to bind such a mixed people together.

Moselekatse was keeping the territory south of the Limpopo, from the Kalahari desert to Sotshangana's outposts, as waste as it was possible to make it. Bands of his trained warriors were constantly marching in one direction or another, so that, though it was possible for individuals and even small parties of people to conceal themselves,

cattle could not be grazed or gardens be made anywhere within his reach. He had preserved the big boys and girls of the various Betshuana tribes that he had destroyed, and already many of the former had been promoted from being carriers to be soldiers, and had been formed into regiments by themselves. These were always anxious to show that they were worthy of favour, and were therefore ready to carry out any command, even to despoil and murder their own relatives. Through the girls that had been preserved, the blood of the rising generation of Matabele was much mixed, and the ferocity of the tribe was gradually being reduced.

The Ovaherero on the western coast were not affected by the wars of Tshaka, as the Kalahari, which no army could cross, protected them from attack along their whole eastern border. Their history will be told in another chapter.

The parts of South-Eastern and Central South Africa that suffered least from the wars of devastation were the territory along the coast between the Umzimvubu and Fish rivers, and that now known as Southern Matabeleland; though neither of these escaped entirely. The first was crowded with bands of refugees or fugitives from the north, many of whom were hostile to the earlier inhabitants, and it had been partly devastated by the horde under Madikane, the army of Matiwane, and that sent by Tshaka in 1828. The Pondo tribe in particular had been reduced to great distress, and a section of the Tembus had been expelled. Still, on the whole, this portion of South Africa had received comparatively little damage. Southern Matabeleland had suffered even less. It too was invaded by numerous Betshuana and Bavenda refugees, scattered and peeled by the Matabele bands, but they came as fugitives seeking a place of shelter, not as enemies of the Baroswi and the Makalanga, and there was plenty of room for them all. The western border had been traversed by Sebetoane on his destructive northward march, but beyond that there had been no disturbance on a large scale.

Only among the Bantu in one part of South Africa at this time was reconstruction going on, elsewhere all was waste and ruin. In the mountains of Basutoland a community was growing up under the government of an exceptionally able chief, who was largely guided by prudent European advisers, and who was favoured by special circumstances such as seldom occur. Yet with all the advantages which Moshesh enjoyed, owing to the nature of the country, the absence of any rival chief of ability, and his possession of means to assist distressed refugees who applied to him for protection, it is doubtful whether he would have succeeded in building up a great tribe if it had not been that the terror of the Zulus and Matabele forced the people together until they became accustomed to his rule. To outward pressure quite as much as to internal good government, the great chief of the mountain, as Moshesh was called from his stronghold Thaba Bosigo, owed his opportunity of becoming the most renowned black man of the time in South Africa.

The Barolong under Moroko were preserved from destruction by following the advice of European missionaries, but they never became a powerful tribe. Their chief, though an amiable man, had not the ability necessary to draw together the dispersed remnants of other communities and to consolidate them with his own people, nor had he the military genius of Moshesh. Gontse, Tawane, and Matlabe remained at Thaba Ntshu independent of him, instead of being compelled to occupy an inferior position, such as they would have been obliged to fill in the Lesuto. Under this system growth and increase of power were impossible.

In reviewing these destructive wars and their consequences, one is struck with the apparent anomaly that although nearly if not quite two millions of human beings lost their lives, the area occupied by the Bantu was considerably extended. Just as in 1570-1600, when the irruption of hordes from beyond the Zambesi caused the country along

the south-eastern coast to be occupied by the Abambo and in all probability forced the Bavenda down upon the Bakwena, driving these onward towards the Vaal, so in the convulsions that have just been related all the people now called Fingos made their way down from Natal, though for some years they remained within territory occupied by tribes of their own race, Tembus spread over the present colonial districts of Queenstown and Glen Grey, where previously only Bushmen roamed, a great tract of land farther north, extending to the Orange river, was taken possession of, some parts of it—such as the present district of Herschel—being completely filled, and on the northern bank of the Orange a Bantu outpost was formed at Bethulie and Quthing was occupied. Thus between 1820 and 1830 the border line of the territory occupied by these people was greatly advanced. Over the vast area between it and the Zambesi the inhabitants were indeed thinned out, but, given only a respite from the murderous assagai, they would increase in number again at a rate unknown in any other country of the world.

It is reasonable to conclude that in this manner the Bantu have spread out since the first appearance in Africa of those who spoke the parent dialect of their speech. This does not solve the question as to their origin, nor does it indicate the time when they entered the continent. It merely shows how they must have lived, and absorbed or destroyed the earlier inhabitants, and extended their border until they came in contact with European civilisation.

CHAPTER XVI.

MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD BOURKE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 5TH MARCH 1826 TO 9TH SEPTEMBER 1828.

DURING the period that Major-General Bourke acted as governor, though it only covered thirty months, several important political alterations took place. The fortunes of the colony were to a large extent dependent upon the ministries in power in England, and for several years after the retirement of the earl of Liverpool changes took place rapidly in the imperial administration. Mr. Canning died, and in August 1827 Viscount Goderich became premier, and Mr. Huskisson secretary for the colonies. In January 1828 the duke of Wellington succeeded Viscount Goderich, but Mr. Huskisson remained at the colonial office until May, when he was replaced by Sir George Murray. This ministry retained office until November 1830. Then Earl Grey became premier, and Viscount Goderich again secretary for the colonies.

The reports of the commissioners of inquiry and the discussions in the house of commons upon Lord Charles Somerset's administration alike tended to show the necessity of providing a high court of justice that would command the respect and confidence of the people. From 1806 to 1827 the judges were appointed by the governor, and were removable at his pleasure. All—except the chief justice—held other situations in the service, and had the position of judges assigned to them as a mark of favour or to increase their salaries. The court of appeal consisted of the governor himself, assisted in criminal cases by one or two assessors. Occasionally decisions were reviewed in England, and they were recognised by the highest legal

authorities there to be in accordance with justice, but the constitution of the courts subjected their proceedings to adverse criticism by those against whom judgment was given. They might do what was right, but they could not command the respect of everyone.

Earl Bathurst had intended to create an independent supreme court, but the arrangements were not complete when he was obliged to retire from office. The ministry of which Mr. Canning was premier and Lord Goderich secretary for the colonies carried out the design, and caused a charter of justice to be prepared, which received the signature of the king on the 24th of August 1827. It provided for the establishment of a supreme court, to be independent of the other branches of the government, and to consist of a chief justice and three puisne judges, all of whom were to be barristers or advocates of at least three years' standing. They were to be appointed by the crown, and were not to hold any other office. In civil cases the chief justice and two puisne judges were to form a quorum, and there was to be a right of appeal to the privy council if the matter in dispute was over £1,000 in value. Criminal cases were to be tried by a single judge and a jury of nine men, whose verdict was to be unanimous in order to convict. The forms of procedure were to be those of English courts, and the pleas were to be in the English language, though the civil or Roman-Dutch law was to remain in force undisturbed.

Circuit courts were to be held twice a year in the chief villages throughout the colony. In them civil cases were to be tried by a single judge, but there was to be a right of appeal to the supreme court when the amount in dispute was over £100 in value. Criminal cases were to be tried by a judge and a jury consisting of not less than six nor more than nine persons.

The court of vice-admiralty, which had frequently been in conflict with the high court of justice on questions of jurisdiction, was abolished, and its duties were transferred to the

chief justice. The office of fiscal was also abolished, and an attorney-general was substituted, with a salary of £1,500 a year. The other officers connected with the new court were a registrar, with a salary of £600, a master, with a salary of £800, and a sheriff, with a salary of £600 a year. Sir John Wylde—previously judge of the vice-admiralty court in New South Wales—received the appointment of chief justice, with a salary of £2,500 a year, and Messrs. William Menzies, William Westbrooke Burton, and George Kekewich—the last named previously judge of the vice-admiralty court at the Cape—were appointed puisne judges, each with a salary of £1,500 a year. Mr. Anthony Oliphant was appointed attorney-general, Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink sheriff, Mr. Clerke Burton master, and Mr. J. F. Jurgens—succeeded after a few weeks by Mr. Thomas Henry Bowles—registrar. The last three appointments were made by the secretary of state upon the recommendation of the governor.

On the 1st of January 1828 the new supreme court entered upon its duties. Sir John Truter, previously chief justice, Mr. Daniel Denyssen, fiscal, and the members of the old court were allowed small pensions, and retired to private life.

The creation of an independent supreme court was admitted by everyone to be an advantage, but whether trial of criminal cases by jury tended to promote justice was a question upon which two opinions could be held. In the eye of the law the life of a Kaffir or a Bushman was as sacred as that of the chief justice himself, but could it be expected that nine men would always agree to subject a European to sentence of death for shooting a Kaffir or a Bushman thief, no matter how clear the evidence might be, or how the judge might sum it up? They might bring in a verdict of guilty if the value of the lives of different classes of men was appraised as in early days in England, but that was impossible in the nineteenth century. To the present day this question is not answered alike by everyone, nor can it ever be in a country inhabited by men of the highest and of the lowest races, all absolutely equal before the law.

Another question open to doubt was whether the English principle of not questioning a prisoner on trial, and even warning him not to criminate himself, served the purposes of justice as well as the system that it superseded. Upon this also a difference of opinion still exists in South Africa, as elsewhere.

At the same time that the supreme court was established the whole of the lower courts were swept away, and with them such popular representation as had previously existed. For the landdrosts and heemraden, resident magistrates were substituted to perform the judicial duties, and civil commissioners to perform all other.

The colony was divided into two provinces, termed the western and the eastern. The western province included the districts of the Cape, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Worcester; and the eastern province the districts of Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, Albany, Uitenhage, and George. Seven civil commissioners were appointed, namely, William Macdonald Mackay for the Cape and Simonstown, Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld for Stellenbosch, Harry Rivers for Swellendam, Charles Trappes for Worcester, Willem Cornelis van Ryneveld for Beaufort and Graaff-Reinet, William Bolden Dundas—succeeded in July by Duncan Campbell—for Somerset and Albany, and J. W. van der Riet for Uitenhage and George. Each civil commissioner had a salary of £400 a year.

For the eastern province a commissioner-general was appointed, to control the proceedings of the inferior officers in cases where the delay of a reference to Capetown would be prejudicial to the public interests, and under the governor's directions to exercise special superintendence over the affairs of the border. For this office Captain Andries Stockenstrom, previously landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, was chosen. He was directed to reside at Uitenhage, and was allowed a salary of £800 a year.

The resident magistrates had power to try civil cases in which the amount in dispute did not exceed £10 in value,

but a right of appeal to the circuit court was reserved in cases of over £2. For criminal offences they could sentence to a fine of £5, imprisonment for one month, or flogging within the precincts of the jail, but by order of the secretary of state, dated 5th of January 1824, no female, free or slave, could be punished by any court in the colony with the lash. They were required to hold a court twice in every week, or oftener if necessary. The proceedings were to be conducted in the English language. The following resident magistrates were appointed, each with a salary of £300 a year, except those of Stellenbosch and Grahamstown, who received £500 a year: J. P. Serrurier to Simonstown, Abraham Faure to Stellenbosch, Christiaan Michiel Lind to Swellendam, Jacobus Johannes le Sueur to Worcester, Jan van Ryneveld to Clanwilliam, William Walter Harding to Beaufort West, Egbertus Bergh to Graaff-Reinet, J. J. Meintjes to Somerset, Thomas Lawson to Grahamstown, Jan Gustaf Aspeling to Uitenhage, Hougham Hudson to Port Elizabeth, and Willem Adriaan Wentzel to George. The office at Port Frances was closed.

The magistrate of Capetown had a different title. In May 1826 Mr. Petrus Borchardus Borcherds, a member of the high court of justice, was appointed permanent sitting commissioner, and was directed to hold a court daily for the trial of petty criminal cases. To this office was now added the judicial duties of the board of landdrost and heemraden of the district, and Mr. Borcherds continued to hold it with the new title of judge of police. He could decide civil cases when the amount in dispute was less than £20. A salary of £800 a year was attached to the situation.

A superintendent of police had been appointed as far back as October 1825, when the fiscal was relieved of the duty of preserving order in the town. Mr. Willem Cornelis van Ryneveld received the appointment provisionally, but was succeeded in April 1826 by the baron Charles de Lorentz, for whom the duchess of Cambridge exerted her influence, and who was consequently sent out by Earl Bathurst, with a salary of £700 a year.

The district revenues were transferred to the colonial treasury, and the government took upon itself all the obligations of the boards of landdrost and heemraden. Even the burgher senate was abolished, its revenues were diverted to the treasury, and the government thereafter carried out municipal duties in Capetown. This board had been in existence since 1796, and the only change in its constitution during that time was that in June 1811 a salary of three thousand five hundred rixdollars a year from the town funds was attached to the office of president, which was to be held by the senior member for two years.

To compensate for the abolition of the popular boards, Lord Goderich deprived two of the official members of their seats in the council of advice, and directed the acting governor to nominate in their stead two colonists for his approval. General Bourke proposed Sir John Truter, the chief justice who retired on the establishment of the supreme court, and Captain Andries Stockenstrom, commissioner-general for the eastern districts, both of whom were confirmed in the appointment by the secretary of state. The council then consisted of Chief Justice Sir John Wylde, the military officer next in rank to the commander-in-chief, Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, who retained his appointment of treasurer and accountant-general with a salary of £1,000 a year, Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, an officer who had served through the peninsular war, and who, after being for five years deputy-quartermaster-general of the forces in the colony, in 1827 succeeded Sir Richard Plasket as secretary to government with a salary of £2,000 a year, Sir John Truter, and Captain Stockenstrom. A few months later the secretary of state deprived the chief justice of his seat, and thereafter the council consisted of five members. Mr. Perceval, the clerk, had the additional office of auditor-general conferred upon him, with a salary of £1,000 a year for the combined duties.

The only other compensation was the conferring of the appointment of justice of the peace upon a few colonists in all the districts, but very little power was attached to the office.

These changes were received by the old colonists almost in silence, for they believed that complaint would be useless. Everyone admitted that an independent supreme court was preferable to such a court as had previously existed; but the abolition of the boards of heemraden and of the burgher senate, and above all the substitution of the English for the Dutch language in judicial proceedings, was very keenly felt. On the 24th of January 1828 a notice was issued that all memorials or other papers addressed to the government must be written in English or be accompanied by a translation, otherwise they would be returned to those who sent them.

A little later Mr. Justice Burton removed the criminal cases from the circuit court at Worcester to Capetown for trial, on the ground that a jury, all of whom understood the English language, was not obtainable at Worcester, though the prisoners and the witnesses spoke Dutch only, and every word that they said had to be translated to the court. The chief justice and Judge Kekewich were of opinion that it was not necessary for jurymen to understand English, unless others impanelled with them could not speak Dutch; but Justices Burton and Menzies maintained that ignorance of English was a disqualification under the terms of the charter of justice, and acted upon that principle.

In addition to the changes already mentioned, Lord Goderich decided upon reducing the salaries of the governor and several of the heads of departments. Thereafter the governor was to receive £7,000 a year, with the official residence in Capetown and an allowance of £500 a year to provide himself with a country house. The collector of customs was to have a salary of £1,000 a year, the controller of customs £700, and the surveyor-general £700. The office of surveyor-general was united with that of civil engineer and superintendent of works. Major Charles Cornwallis Michell—who had served in the Anglo-Lusitanian brigade in the peninsular war—was appointed to it, but he did not arrive in South Africa until 1829.

Instructions had previously been issued that the estate Groote Post should be disposed of, and in October 1827 that property was divided into seven farms, which were leased by auction for seventeen years. Orders were now sent out that the estates at Newlands and Camp's Bay should be disposed of for the benefit of the colonial treasury. In pursuance of these instructions, in July 1828 the marine villa at Camp's Bay was sold by auction.

The Newlands estate was disposed of in the same manner on the 15th of March 1828. It was sixty-four morgen in extent, and a house upon which a large sum of money had been expended was standing upon it, though the main wing was in ruins. It was purchased by Mr. Willem Izaak Louw for £3,025. In July 1830 Mr. Louw sold it to Mr. Jan Cruywagen for £3,008. Mr. Cruywagen after a time cut part of the ground into small lots, and disposed of them; but retained twenty-nine morgen around the house, which he sold in September 1859 to Dr. Jonas Michiel Hiddingh for £4,600. The property is now in possession of Dr. Hiddingh's nephew and heir, but the house standing upon it is only part of the one built by Lord Charles Somerset.

The condition of the Hottentots and other free coloured inhabitants of the colony had been for some time a subject of discussion by philanthropists in South Africa and England, who were exerting their influence with the imperial government to obtain an alteration of the laws regarding these people. Extreme views were held by many persons on this subject, and it was even asserted that most of those who were called free were in reality in a position worse than that of slavery.

Of the different classes of free coloured inhabitants, the Bushmen, once so formidable, were now the least important. Before the English conquest they had ceased as a race to offer opposition to the advance of the Europeans. After the settlement of the Griquas north of the Orange, their numbers were very rapidly reduced, and they had no longer a place of security to which they could retire when colonial commandos

were searching for them. The Griquas, being partly of Hottentot blood, had all the animosity of Hottentots towards the Bushman race. Possessed of horses and firearms, they followed the occupation of hunters, and were thus equipped in the best manner for destroying Bushmen, to whom they showed no quarter. Some of those whom they pursued retreated to the Kalahari desert, others fled into the waste region south of the lower course of the Orange, but the larger number perished.

During the early years of the century colonial commandos were occasionally sent against plundering bands, but after 1810 very little blood was shed, and generally all the members of these little hordes were made prisoners, when they were apprenticed to such persons as could make use of them. The adults, however, seldom remained long in service, no matter how kindly they were treated.

One of the principal reasons for the extension of the colonial boundary advanced by Landdrost Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, was the protection of the remaining Bushmen. When they ceased to be formidable, and the land over which they had roamed was divided into farms, various little parties of a few families each attached themselves in a kind of vassalage to individual white men. They agreed to abstain from stealing cattle, and were allowed to collect wild plants without interference. Game had become less plentiful than formerly, but whenever possible it was shot for them, and in seasons of scarcity the white man gave them a few goats or sheep. Whenever animals were slaughtered, those parts which Europeans reject were allotted to them. Some of them guarded the white man's flocks, and in return were provided with tobacco, milk, skins for clothing, and various trifles. They called the white man master, and he termed them his people. He was in fact a chief, under whose rule they were secure from molestation, guarded against the last extreme of want, and if not absolutely free, as nearly so as is compatible with protection. This condition of life seems to be the nearest approach to civilisation of which the Bushman is capable.

But very few adults were found willing to submit for lengthened periods even to the small amount of restraint which such vassalage implies. Long famine, broken occasionally by a feast maybe of carrion such as only a vulture would share with them,* hardship of every kind, peril of life, all seemed light to Bushmen weary of the same routine day after day. There were numerous instances of men and women leaving their children with farmers to be taken care of, and then going away and not returning for years. In August 1817 Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation authorising the landdrosts to bind such children as apprentices to the farmers with whom they were left, or to other respectable and humane people; but every precaution was to be taken to prevent children being obtained under false pretences or by violent means.

Agents of the London society made many efforts to induce these people to settle at mission stations, but always without success. As soon as the teacher's supply of food failed, those whom he had gathered together dispersed again. There was one station, on the site of the present village of Colesberg, which the government was charged by the superintendent of the London society's missions with having broken up for no other purpose than to please the frontier farmers. In point of fact, however, the teacher at that station misconducted himself in such a manner that he was removed by Captain Stockenstrom, a friend and supporter of mission

*This is the case to the present day. During the early months of the year 1890 the horse sickness was so severe in the colonial districts south of the Orange river below the junction of the Vaal, that some thousands of animals died. Very soon after its appearance Bushmen of all ages were seen coming from the Kalahari in greater numbers than were previously believed to be in existence. They were wretchedly thin, with their hunger belts drawn tight, and their bones protruding. They seemed to be led by instinct to the putrid carcases of the horses, upon which they feasted, and round which they danced in exuberance of joy, though Europeans could not approach for the stench. In a few weeks they were so fat and plump that they could hardly be recognised as the same people. At any time within the last twenty years easy employment with high wages could have been obtained, and they would have been warmly welcomed at mission stations, but they preferred the life they were leading.

work; and at the time there was no prospect whatever of the Bushmen in the neighbourhood laying aside their wandering habits.

All the people of this race in the colony were regarded by the government as subject to the various laws and regulations concerning Hottentots.

Lord Caledon's proclamation requiring Hottentots to be provided with passes when moving about the country has been fully described in a preceding chapter. In April 1812 a proclamation was issued by Sir John Cradock, under which children of Hottentots born while their parents were in service, and maintained for eight years by the employers of their parents, were to be bound as apprentices for ten years to those employers or such other humane persons as the landdrosts might approve of. This proclamation ignored the right of Hottentots to control their children, and substituted government officers for the guardians appointed by nature. But it is equally true that it had more effect in raising these people towards civilisation than any other regulation ever made concerning them. The governor who issued it was one of the most benevolent of men, and his philanthropy was guided by sound sense and experience. In his opinion it was better for the children that they should acquire industrial habits, even if restraint had to be used, than that they should become vagrants.

There were severals instances of grants of ground to deserving half-breeds and Hottentots who were regarded as capable of making use of them, but these were exceptions to the general system. The method of providing land for this class of the inhabitants was by assigning large areas to mission stations. Even now, after ninety years more of civilising influences, the greater number of the Hottentots would not be benefited by having land given to them under individual tenure. It would either be sold, or remain unimproved.

The Moravians and the Wesleyans were satisfied with the areas assigned to them, but the superintendent of the London

society's missions made a grievance of the difficulty of obtaining an enlargement of some of the stations under his control. In 1824 the reverend Mr. Kitchingman, missionary at Bethelsdorp, applied to the government for all the spare ground about that place and two full-sized farms elsewhere. Bethelsdorp had greatly improved since the time of Dr. Vanderkemp, and many of the Hottentots residing there were leading lives useful to themselves and the community at large. But Lord Charles Somerset, for reasons which will presently be mentioned, was not disposed to aid this society, and refused the application. Dr. Philip then appealed to Earl Bathurst, who granted the spare land about Bethelsdorp, but declined to give the two farms. An addition to Theopolis was also desired by Dr. Philip. The government, being apprehensive of danger from too large a settlement of Hottentots at that place, offered to grant part of the ground asked for on condition that the society would give a pledge not to purchase more adjoining it. The society declined the proposal, and therefore the grant was not made.*

* In Dr. Philip's work *Researches in South Africa*, it is made to appear as if land had actually been taken from Theopolis for the benefit of Europeans. An investigation was called for by the secretary of state, and in November 1830 was thoroughly carried out by a commission consisting of Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Hope, the land surveyors White and Smith, Mr. Thomas Phillips, and the reverend Mr. Barker, the two last named nominated by Dr. Philip himself. The mission was found to be in full possession of the original grant of five thousand morgen of ground, represented by the diagram connected with the title, and of one thousand eight hundred and fifty morgen allotted to it by Major Dundas in 1825, when grants adjacent to the station lands were made to various British settlers. There had been no encroachment whatever. The report upon this matter by Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Goderich, dated 10th of May 1831, is a document of great length. The governor terms Dr. Philip's claim to the ground said to have been cut off "a monstrous and unfounded demand," and adds: "Dr. Philip has admitted that he, a Mr. Wright, and the resident missionary, were the parties who altered from their own measurements their copy of the original diagram, which Dr. Philip afterwards published in its garbled state with the government surveyor's name still attached to it, thereby giving, inadvertently perhaps, a colour of authenticity to a charge which had no foundation in facts. Alterations or additions of this nature in official documents are at least inconvenient, when the object is to establish facts rather than to support errors." But upon the matter being decided against him, Dr. Philip accused the whole of the

Several small clans of Hottentots, who clung to their ancient customs, had removed to Great Namaqualand after the proclamation of the earl of Caledon abolishing chieftainship and bringing every one in the colony under colonial laws. But the benefit to the race in general derived from the substitution of government for practical anarchy should outweigh the discontent of a few hundred individuals. There was also a small stream of emigration towards the Griqua settlements north of the Orange, but it was not caused by oppression, nor was it sufficiently large to form a good foundation for a grievance.

Some of the missionaries complained of the state of the prisons. When an unknown Hottentot made a charge against a colonist, he was lodged in jail, and was detained there until the magistrate could investigate the case. This seems to be a hardship, but so volatile were these people that there was no other way to secure their appearance when the individual complained of had travelled to the court perhaps a hundred or two hundred miles. If the Hottentot was unable to prove his assertions, or if the magistrate considered the injury he had sustained insufficient to require redress, he was liable to be punished for making frivolous charges.

The prisons in the country districts were small and unventilated. Into them were sometimes crowded slaves and Hottentots, guilty of every kind of crime, or of no crime at

gentlemen engaged in the investigation with being corrupt. Of this the governor remarks in the report: "The honour and the professional reputation of gentlemen who have been sworn to the faithful discharge of their public duties, and who could not by any possibility be interested in the result of the inspection at Theopolis, the evidence of eye-witnesses to the operation, nay the very character of his own coadjutor as a man of common observation and understanding, all was to be sacrificed without scruple by Dr. Philip to the superior credibility of Hottentot witnesses examined by himself five years ago, when he was avowedly engaged in the compilation of charges not only against the government but against the whole colony. . . . Supported by his society . . . Dr. Philip derives much of his importance from the enthusiasm of that party in England whom he has taught to consider him as the first if not the only person either here or at home who has both the will and the courage to yield protection to the Hottentot population."

all. A Hottentot who preferred a charge of ill usage against his master did so on peril of being incarcerated with the worst of characters, and of being flogged in addition if the case should break down. At the same time it must be remembered that, wretched as the prisons then were, they were superior in comfort to the ordinary dwellings of the Hottentots, and that the food provided for the inmates was superior in quality and quantity to that which they were commonly accustomed to, except when they were in service. The majority of the Hottentots indeed rather enjoyed prison life than dreaded it.

These people could be arrested and punished if they attempted to travel about the country without passes from employers or the district officials. They could be forced to perform labour upon public works at very low rates of payment, though in this respect they were no worse off than white people. They could be called out for military service, if required, but so could the European colonists.

There were many persons connected with the government in South Africa who desired that the Hottentots and other free coloured people should be placed on a political equality with the European colonists. By instruction of the acting governor, on the 3rd of April 1828 Captain Stockenstrom, commissioner-general of the eastern districts, submitted to him a memorandum on this subject, which so entirely coincided with his views that he requested Mr. Justice Burton to draft an ordinance in its spirit. The draft—since known as the fiftieth ordinance—was then laid before the council, and having received the approval of that body, was issued on the 17th of July. It relieved the Hottentots, Bushmen, and other free people of colour from the operation of the laws concerning passes and the apprenticeship of children, and placed them in all respects politically on a level with Europeans.

This measure was carried out by the local government under general instructions from the secretary of state for the colonies. To this he had been moved by the reverend

Dr. John Philip, who during many years took such an active part in colonial affairs that it is necessary to know more of him than the mere name. No man ever resident in South Africa was more lauded by a section of the community—though a very small one,—and more decried by the great majority of the colonists and the officers of government. Take, for instance, the inscription on the memorial tablet in the Independent church in Capetown and the despatches of Lord Charles Somerset and Sir Lowry Cole, and there is all the difference between a saint and a promoter of mischief.

On the tablet he is described as "one whose intellect was consecrated to the service of divine truth, whose character was richly adorned with Christian graces and virtues, whose heart was deeply interested in the success of every benevolent and pious effort, and whose life was faithfully spent for the glory of God in the welfare of man. After a highly acceptable and useful ministry of sixteen years in Great Britain, and after a residence of upwards of thirty years in Capetown, where he was known as an unflinching advocate of Christian missions, an unwearied friend of the oppressed, and an able preacher of sacred truth, he retired to Hankey, where he died on the 27th of August 1851, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, sustained by the consolations, and rejoicing in the hopes, of that gospel for the defence and diffusion of which he had lived and laboured."

Lord Charles Somerset wrote to the secretary of state of "the insidiousness of this dangerous man's character," of his reply to certain charges as being "full of disgusting evasion and perversion of facts," of his "mingling himself in everything that could give him political importance," and of his neglecting to show "as much activity in reporting to the missionary society the redress of grievances as he appears to exercise in reporting the grievances themselves."

The succeeding governor, Sir Lowry Cole, described him as "more of a politician than a missionary," and as having "on all occasions endeavoured to impress on the minds of the

Hottentots that they could not expect protection or look for justice unless to the (missionary) institutions."

It is only within the last ten years that the disastrous effects of the policy towards the Bantu tribes initiated by Dr. Philip, and put in operation through the enormous influence which he possessed with the philanthropic societies in England, have been obliterated, if, indeed, in the case of the Basuto tribe they can be said to be obliterated even now. During the intervening years the government was put to infinite trouble, and the progress of the colony in prosperity and of the black races towards civilisation was greatly retarded by the measures which he devised and his powerful supporters carried out. A quarter of a century after his death his name could not be mentioned in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony without calling forth denunciations of his writings, his views, and the manner in which he put his ideas into practice.

Now that time has buried in the grave the fierce passions which he roused, his personal character can be fairly traced. He was a man of great natural ability, and applied himself intensely to whatever he took in hand. The son of a weaver at Kirkcaldy, he was brought up to his father's occupation, but at an early age displayed remarkable fluency of speech and aptitude for debating. This power was developed by practice in a weaver's club, and led to his being received as a student at the Hoxton academy in London. Having completed the course of study required by the Independent church, he became assistant to a clergyman at Newbury, but after a short time he resigned that situation and removed to Aberdeen, where he formed a congregation of Independents, and remained twelve years as their pastor. Next he turned his attention to the heathen, and by writing and preaching in various places he attracted the notice of the London missionary society, and was engaged by that association to proceed to South Africa as its superintendent. He arrived in this country early in the year 1819, when he was forty-four years of age, and was well received by the governor, who hoped that he would not only

be disposed, but be able to introduce a better system than had previously existed in the management of many of the mission stations.

Dr. Philip was a man of commanding appearance, and was possessed of a constitution so robust that he was capable of performing a vast amount of labour without fatigue. The hereditary energy of his ancestors was developed in him to such an extent that action was a necessity of his existence, and during at least twenty years after his arrival in South Africa his obstinacy was so intense that when once he entered upon a course, no matter whether good or evil, no argument or remonstrance would turn him back. Great as his intellect undoubtedly was, it was not of so high an order as to make him admit an error and try to rectify it. At a later date, after he had enjoyed almost unlimited political influence, and had seen the schemes which he devised result in bloodshed and confusion, he became a comparatively gentle old man; but at the period treated of in this and the preceding chapters he was the most active opponent of the government in the country. He laid down a theory that the coloured races were in all respects except education mentally equal to the European colonists, and that they were wrongfully and cruelly oppressed by the white people and the government. With this as a professed motive for exertion, he stood forth as their champion; but in advocating their cause he acted as a general might do who was determined to win a victory, and was indifferent as to what weapons he used. To secure the support and confidence of the great philanthropic societies in England, he said, and wrote, and did much that all who are regardful of truth must pronounce decidedly wrong.

He placed himself in antagonism to every one who did not hold his particular views, and denounced them all as heartless oppressors. Even men of the most exemplary Christian character, such as the reverend Andrew Murray, of Graaff-Reinet, and the reverend Alexander Smith, of Uitenhage, were forced into a contention with him, and on one occasion matters

proceeded to such a length that Mr. Murray roundly accused him of making false statements to the commissioners of inquiry. He lived thus in an atmosphere of constant strife, and many measures which he favoured, though admittedly good in themselves, received no support from the great body of the colonists solely because of his connection with them.

Early in 1826 Dr. Philip went to England, and in April 1828 published a work in two volumes entitled *Researches in South Africa*, with the object of showing that the Hottentots and other coloured people in the colony were ordinarily subject to most unjust treatment. The book puts forth as facts mere theories concerning the Bushman race which are now known to be incorrect, the account given in it of a great commando against the Bushmen in 1774 was proved to be imaginative by Lieutenant Moodie's publication of the original documents from which it was professedly drawn, a strict investigation made by order of the imperial government into some of its charges showed them to be baseless, and the judges of the supreme court pronounced others libellous, yet so entirely did the work accord with the prejudices of a large class of people in England that it was received with great favour, and for many years was regarded as authoritative.

On the 15th of July 1828 Mr. Fowell Buxton brought the matter to which it related before the house of commons. He stated that if any members wanted information on the treatment of coloured people in the Cape Colony, he would "recommend to their notice a recent publication—Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa*,—a work which at the same time displayed great colonial knowledge, and exhibited a strong picture of the injuries which the natives were sustaining." He then moved "that his Majesty be humbly solicited to cause such instructions to be sent to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope as should most effectually secure to all the natives of South Africa the same freedom and protection as are enjoyed by other free people of that colony, whether English or Dutch, and that his Majesty be

humbly requested to order copies or extracts of the special reports of the commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope relative to the condition of the Hottentots and Bushmen, together with the papers given in to the commissioners by Dr. Philip and the memorials addressed to the colonial office by the directors of the London missionary society, to be laid before the house."

At this time the duke of Wellington was prime minister, having succeeded Lord Goderich in January 1828. In this ministry Mr. Huskisson was the first secretary for the colonies, but in May Sir George Murray took that office. With the last named gentleman Dr. Philip had acquired great influence in matters concerning South Africa. He therefore concurred in Mr. Buxton's motion, which received general support, and was carried.

On the 2nd of August the resolution was forwarded to the acting governor, the secretary of state at the same time conveying his Majesty's special commands recommending the original natives of the Cape to his attention, in order that he might upon all proper occasions exert the authority entrusted to him for the purpose of securing to the Hottentots and Bushmen their "freedom and the protection of the laws." The secretary transmitted to General Bourke Dr. Philip's publication, to enable him the better to appreciate the grounds upon which the attention of the king's government had been called to the subject.

Before these instructions reached the Cape, the ordinance published on the 17th of July was received in England Nothing could have met the case more exactly. But by Dr. Philip's desire, an additional clause was added to it, prohibiting its alteration, repeal, or amendment without the previous consent of the king in council; and in this form on the 15th of January 1829 it was ratified.

The effect was something like giving a child of ten years of age the rights of a full-grown man. Under the enactments of the earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock the Hottentots were beginning to acquire some stability of character, but now many

of them commenced to wander about the country begging and stealing. Later events, however, have thrown a light upon this measure that Dr. Philip and the philanthropical societies in England had not to see by, and it is beyond doubt that the motives of those who supported the enactment of the fiftieth ordinance were benevolent, though it caused much harm to the people who were affected by it.

The book *Researches in South Africa* created much sensation in the colony, where it was received as a highly overdrawn statement, from which many explanatory particulars known to its author were omitted. Mr. William Macdonald Mackay, one of the officials charged in it with oppressive conduct towards Hottentots, resolved to vindicate his character by an action for libel before the supreme court. The case excited intense interest throughout South Africa, for it was felt that it was not only Mr. Mackay's reputation, but that of the government and the colonists, which was at stake. When it came on for hearing, Dr. Philip's counsel disputed the competency of the supreme court to decide in the matter, on the grounds that the book was not intended for circulation in the colony, that it was not published here through his agency, and that therefore this was not the place to bring an action. The judges overruled this objection, but others were raised which necessitated the postponement of the trial until the following session.

On the 12th of July 1830 the case finally came on for hearing. It rested upon the correctness of certain statements in the work *Researches in South Africa*, which bore Dr. Philip's name as author on the title page, and one copy of which it was proved that he had given to a friend of his, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, controller of customs in Capetown. The courtroom was densely packed with the most respectable people in the country. The defendant pleaded that he had received the information upon which his assertions were founded from Mr. Thomas Pringle, who had published substantially the same account in England before the book *Researches in South Africa* appeared. Evidence was then

taken, and it was proved that the charges made by Dr. Philip against Mr. Mackay in his capacity as landdrost of Somerset were incorrect.

On the 16th of July judgment was given against Dr. Philip for damages £200 and costs, which, owing to the large number of witnesses brought from the frontier, amounted to £900. The chief justice, Sir John Wylde, in a long review pronounced the statement concerning Mr. Mackay in *Researches in South Africa* a "false and malicious libel," Mr. Justice Burton characterised it as "slander and falsehood," and Mr. Justice Menzies termed it "utterly without foundation."

By the missionary party in England, however, this action was warmly resented. Memorials were addressed to the secretary of state in which it was assumed that Dr. Philip was in personal danger, and requests were made that he should be protected. Public meetings were held to raise money to defray the costs of the case, at which it was asserted by men of high position in society that Dr. Philip was suffering persecution on account of the noble efforts he was making to secure humane treatment for the poor oppressed natives of South Africa. Ignoring the value that an upright man should set upon his reputation, these people maintained that Mr. Mackay could have sustained no damages, as he had been promoted by the government after the publication of the charges against him. Very imprudently, reports of some of these meetings were made public in the colony by Dr. Philip's friends, and they tended to strengthen an opinion then generally held that justice or moderation could not be expected from the so-called philanthropic party in England.

After the resignation of Lord Charles Somerset some time elapsed before a successor was appointed. At length, on the 20th of March 1828 a commission was issued to Lieutenant-General Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, in which he was appointed governor and commander-in-chief. He was then governor of Mauritius. On the 7th of September he arrived in Simon's Bay in the ship-of-war *Tweed*, with his lady, three sons, and

three daughters. Two days later, on the 9th, he took the oaths of office.

General Bourke remained in the colony until the 7th of November, when he embarked with his family for England in the frigate *Undaunted.*

Note.—It will be observed that the word *natives* was used in England to signify the Hottentots as well as the Bushmen, just as it is now used to signify the Bantu. Every one born in a country is indeed a native of it, but it was not in that sense that the word was employed in this instance. It was supposed that the Hottentots were true aborigines, that is the earliest dwellers in the country, and that the Bushmen were merely impoverished Hottentots, many people even believed impoverished through oppression by Europeans. Neither the Hottentots nor the Bantu are aborigines, and consequently are not entitled to be called natives more than children of European colonists born in South Africa are. I am obliged, however, to use the word in quotations and in sentences showing the views of public speakers and writers.

APPENDIX.

Note 1. Page 32.

THE tone of Lord Macartney's instructions regarding the Bushmen was humane, though he was quite ignorant of their true position in the country. He wrote :—

"With the Bushmen, who are perfect savages, it will be always difficult to maintain, at least without much bloodshed, the limits to be fixed, still good order requires that they also should be forced to remain in their own country. Amicable endeavours must be used to oblige these savages to leave the country which they have overrun, or if these should fail then the inhabitants of those districts which they at present occupy must unite and use force. After which no better boundary can be found between the Bushmen and the inhabitants than the Zeekoe river situate behind the Sneeuwberg, the Karree or Roodeberg behind the Camdeboo, and the Zak river, forming the one with the other a half circle from the east to the west. The principal duty of the landdrost is × × ×, and afterwards by ordering regular expeditions to protect the other inhabitants in their possessions against the Bushmen.

"But as the landdrost is bound to protect the inhabitants against the savages, so is he to keep a watchful eye that the inhabitants do not encroach beyond the places granted by the former government in loan. The said grants and the rents thereof being enjoyed by government has authorised the possession of those places, although in itself very unjust and originating in the oppression of the natives, but all further enlarging of this colony would be an absolute cruelty with respect to the natives, who thereby are molested in their possessions and expelled, which would be directly against the justice and humanity of his Majesty, whereby the landdrost is to guard against such encroachments.

"The proper Bushmen inhabit a very extensive tract of land behind the Zeekoe river ; they feed upon venison and the produce of their fields, digging out of the ground certain anthills full of ant eggs which they call rice and which serve them for a great part of their food, but they keep no cattle. Even the cattle which some of them steal from our inhabitants they do not keep for breeding, but consume immediately with the greatest profusion, according to the known custom of savages. Of these, some robbers have × × × come down into the Roggeveld and the Hantam. These are therefore in every possible manner to be compelled to return to their own country × × ×. If these people would by gentle means be persuaded to do so it would be fortunate, and a great deal of human blood would thereby

be saved, but finally some means will be unavoidable for self preservation, especially if their considerable procreation is considered, which according to reports thereof is inconceivable, notwithstanding their wild and uneasy manner of life and the disasters to which they are continually subject.

"It is said that sixty years ago × × × some Bushman kraals were surrounded, the principal Bushmen thereof apprehended, transported to this town, and given to understand what would be the consequence of their not retreating immediately into their own country; that thereupon they were dismissed with some presents, and that the said manner of proceeding had very fortunately caused the greatest part of them to retreat. Should the like measures be once again adopted, they might produce a very good effect, and the landdrost, from a principle of humanity, should undertake something of this kind prior to his proceeding to order a general expedition of the inhabitants for the purpose of forcibly expelling the Bushmen. But should we be obliged to adopt such a deplorable expedient, then the landdrost is particularly required to take care that in such expeditions a more humane treatment be observed than that which I am informed sometimes on these occasions takes place."

Note 2. Page 40.

At the close of the eighteenth century benevolent sentiments had not yet acquired much force, and the severest discipline was regarded as necessary on a man-of-war, whose crew was often largely composed of pressed men. The log books of the ships, the proceedings of the courts martial, and the lists of punishments inflicted at sea, which were delivered by the respective captains to the admiral when ships arrived in port, together with the correspondence between the naval officers and the government, form the evidence upon which my account of the mutiny in the fleet on the Cape station is given. Though not directly connected with the history of the Cape Colony, an account of such an event, which occurred in South African waters, could not with propriety have been omitted.

Note 3. Page 41.

After his arrival in England Lord Macartney was offered a high office in the government, with a seat in the cabinet, but felt himself obliged to decline it, on account of the precarious state of his health. He died on the 31st of March 1806, in his sixty-ninth year, and as he left no children the title became extinct.

Note 4. Page 76.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow, who travelled through the district of Graaff-Reinet in 1797, gives the following account of the swarms of locusts seen by him in October of that year:—

"Of the innumerable multitudes of the incomplete insect, or larva, of the locusts, that at this time infested this part of Africa, no adequate idea could possibly be conceived without having witnessed them. For the space of ten miles on each side of the Seacow river, and eighty or ninety miles in length, an area of sixteen or eighteen hundred square miles, the whole surface might literally be said to be covered with them. The water of the river was scarcely visible on account of the dead carcases that floated on the surface, drowned in the attempt to come at the reeds which grew in the water. They had devoured every green herb and every blade of grass; and had it not been for the reeds, on which our oxen entirely subsisted while we skirted the banks of the river, the journey must have been discontinued, at least in the line that had been proposed. The larvæ, as generally is the case in this class of nature, are much more voracious than in the perfect insect; nothing that is green seems to come amiss to them. They are not, however, without a choice in their food. When they attack a field of corn just struck into the ear, they first mount to the summit, and pick out every grain before they touch the leaves and the stem. In such a state it is lamentable to see the ruins of a fine field of corn. The insect seems constantly to be in motion and to have some object in view. When on a march during the day it is utterly impossible to turn the direction of a troop, which is generally with the wind. The traces of their route over the country are very obvious for many weeks after they have passed it, the surface appearing as if swept by a broom, or as if a harrow had been drawn over it. Towards the setting of the sun the march is discontinued, when the troop divides into companies, which surround the small shrubs, or tufts of grass, or ant-hills, and in such thick patches that they appear like so many swarms of bees; and in this manner they rest till day-light. It is at such times as they are thus formed that the farmers have any chance of destroying them, which they sometimes effect by driving among them a flock of two or three thousand sheep. By the restlessness of these they are trampled to death.

"Luckily the visits of this gregarious insect are but periodical, otherwise the whole country must inevitably be deserted, for they rest, as the prophet in Holy Writ hath said, 'upon all thorns and upon all bushes.' Even at this time the cattle in many parts are starving for want of food. The present year is the third of their continuance, and their increase has far exceeded that of a geometrical progression whose ratio is a million. For ten years preceding their present visit, they were entirely free from them. Their last exit from the colony was rather singular. All the full-grown insects were driven into the sea by a tempestuous north-west wind, and were afterwards cast upon the beach, where it is said they formed a bank of three or four feet high, that extended from the mouth of the Bosjesman's river to that of the Beeka, a distance of near fifty English miles; and it is asserted that when this mass became putrid, and the wind was at south-east, the stench

was sensibly felt in several parts of Sneeuwberg. Fortunately they were driven thus to sea before they had deposited their eggs in the ground. The larvæ at the same time were emigrating to the northward. The column passed the houses of two of our party, who asserted that it continued without interruption for more than a month. The gryllivori in myriads were close at their heels, and departed along with them, since which, till the present year, not one of them was to be found in the country."

Note 5. Page 337.

A man whose name was afterwards famous accompanied Major Colebrooke to South Africa in the humble capacity of his servant or valet, and remained in the country about twelve months. This was Richard Lander, who accompanied Captain Clapperton in the same capacity on his journey to endeavour to trace the course of the Niger from its head waters to its mouth, and was the only European survivor of that ill-fated expedition. On this occasion Lander was in Western Africa from November 1825 to February 1828, and upon his return to England an account of the journey along the Niger was published from his statements. He was then engaged by the British government to return and endeavour to follow the river from the point where he had left it to its mouth, and with his brother, John Lander, he reached Cape Coast Castle in February 1830. Before the close of the year he solved the question that had previously baffled all explorers, by travelling inland to the Niger and descending the river to the Nun mouth of its delta in the bight of Benin. Once more he visited the African coast, on this occasion as head of a commercial venture, with two small steamers intended to explore the Niger and its tributaries, and establish trading stations at suitable places. In October 1832 he began the passage up the river, and after much exploratory work in February 1834 died from the effects of a wound received from some blacks in the Brass river.

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Bethelsdorp, London missionary society's station: in 1803 is founded by Dr. Vanderkemp and the reverend James Read, 104; a few months later it is visited by Commissioner-General De Mist, who forms an unfavourable opinion of the method of instruction pursued there, 111; in subsequent years it is regarded with dislike by people outside the missionary circle, 171; but after Dr. Vanderkemp's death it is greatly improved, 440

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Bezuidenhout, Frederik: in 1815 sets the judicial authorities at defiance, 230; resists a party of pandours sent to arrest him, and is shot dead, 231

Bezuidenhout, Jan: in 1815 is the instigator and leader of an insurrection against the government, 232; on the collapse of the insurrection at Slachter's Nek flees towards Kaffirland, 236; is overtaken by a band of Hottentot soldiers, but declines to surrender, and shoots one of the pandours before he is mortally wounded, 238

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Bigge, John Thomas: see Commissioners of inquiry

Bird, Captain Christopher: in 1807 becomes deputy colonial secretary, 160; in May 1818 becomes colonial secretary, 353; in June 1824 through Lord Charles Somerset's agency is obliged to retire upon a pension, 353; thereafter is an opponent of that governor, 354

Bisseux, Rev. Mr., of the Paris evangelical society: in 1829 commences a mission for slaves at Wellington in the Cape Colony, 408

Blair, Charles: on the 16th of December 1808 becomes collector of customs at Capetown

Blair, Robert: in July 1822 becomes teacher of the high school at Caledon, 311

Blair, William: is appointed a commissioner of inquiry, and on the 24th of December 1825 assumes duty, 365

Blake, Richard, private secretary to Sir George Yonge: evidence against, 72 and 73

Bletterman, Hendrik Lodewyk: in November 1795 retires from office as landdrost of Stellenbosch, 3; in 1804 is appointed a commissioner to arrange the boundary of the district of Tulbagh and select a site for the drostdy, 115

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Boadicea, frigate: splendid success of the, 183

Boardman, Rev. William, of the English episcopal church: in 1820 arrives with a party of British settlers, 291

Borcherds, Petrus Borchardus: in May 1826 is appointed magistrate of Capetown, with the title of permanent sitting commissioner, 433; in January 1828 his title is changed to judge of police, and the magisterial work of the remainder of the Cape district is added to his duties, *ib.*

Botma, Abraham: is one of the leaders of the insurrection of 1815, 234; after the failure of the insurrection is arrested at the Winterberg, 237; is sentenced to death by a commission of the high court of justice, 238; and on the 9th of March 1816 is executed at Van Aardt's post on the Fish river, 239

Botma, Stephanus : is one of the leaders of the insurrection of 1815, 233 ; after the failure of the insurrection is captured by a band of Hottentot soldiers, 237 ; and on the 9th of March 1816 is executed at Van Aardt's post on the Fish river, 239

von Bouchenroeder, B. F. : during the administration of General Janssens is connected with a project of introducing Dutch immigrants, 116

Boundary of the Cape Colony : as defined in July 1798 by Lord Macartney, 35 ; as defined in February 1805 by the governor and council, 127 ; as extended in 1820 by Sir Rufane Donkin, 299 ; as extended in September 1824 by Lord Charles Somerset, 334 ; as extended in March 1825 by Lord Charles Somerset, 334 ; see Extension

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Bourke, Major-General Richard : in August 1825 is appointed lieutenant-governor, 339 ; in February 1826 arrives in the colony, 365 ; on the 5th of March 1826 assumes duty as acting governor during the absence of Lord Charles Somerset, 365 ; on the 9th of September 1828 transfers the duty to Sir Lowry Cole, and on the 7th of November leaves for England, 450

Brand, Christoffel : on the 10th of October 1795 becomes collector of the tithes, 2

Brand, Jan Hendrik : on the 1st of January 1810 becomes deputy fiscal at Simonstown

Brereton, Lieutenant-Colonel : in December 1818 commands an expedition that enters Kaffirland to aid Gaika against his uncle and rival Ndlambe, 275

Bresler, Frans Reinhard : in January 1796 is appointed landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, 6 ; on the 9th of February arrives at the village, 6 ; attends a stormy meeting of the nationals, 7 ; as the people refuse to receive him as landdrost, in March he proceeds to Capetown, 9 ; is instructed by Lord Macartney to return to Graaff-Reinet, 32 ; in July 1797 assumes duty as landdrost there, 33 ; in 1803 is removed, 113 ; and is afterwards a judge in the high court of justice, 230

Brink, Pieter Gerhard : from June to November 1824 acts as secretary to government, 353 ; on the establishment of the supreme court at the beginning of 1828 becomes sheriff, 431

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Brown, Archibald, M.A. : in July 1822 becomes teacher of the high school at Stellenbosch, 311

Brownlee, Rev. John : leaves the service of the London society, and in June 1820 as a government agent founds a mission station in the Tyumie valley, 258 ; resumes his connection with the London society, and in 1825 founds a mission station with the Tinde clan on the

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du Buis, Coenraad: is a renegade living with the Xosas, 45: in 1799 takes an active part in the insurrection of the Graaff-Reinet farmers, 46; escapes from the British troops, and for several years lives under Gaika's protection, 49; exercises an evil influence on Gaika, 63; in 1803 returns to the colony and by Governor Janssens' order goes to reside at Swellendam, 108; afterwards becomes a freebooter and at the head of a party of Griqua ruffians plunders the Betshuana clans, 247
Buissinne, Petrus Stephanus: in January 1810 becomes landdrost of Swellendam, 211
Burchell, W. J.: in 1811 and 1812 resides at Griquatown and Lithako, 211
Burgher senate: in January 1796 is created to perform duties with which the burgher councillors and the committee of the high court of justice were charged under the government of the East India Company, 3; in 1803 is enlarged to seven members, but in 1804 is reduced to five, 103; in January 1828 is abolished, 434
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Burton, Clerke: on the 1st of January 1828 becomes master of the supreme court, 431
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Butler, Captain Thomas: in 1820 brings a party of Irish settlers to the Cape, 292; and is located at Clanwilliam, 294; subsequent movements of the party, 295
Buxton, Fowell: in July 1828 in the house of commons supports the reverend Dr. Philip's views with regard to the coloured people in the Cape Colony, 446

Caledon, earl of: is appointed governor of the Cape Colony, 160; on the 22nd of May 1807 assumes the duty, 160; in July 1811 resigns the government and leaves South Africa, 188; just before embarking makes a donation of five thousand rixdollars to the South African orphan asylum, 226
Caledon River: in February 1809 is named by Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, 172

Caledon, village of: in April 1811 a deputy landdrost of Swellendam is stationed here, 168; in the following month a congregation of the Dutch reformed church is formed, 169; in December 1813 the village receives the name Caledon, 206; in October 1822 the sub-drostdy is abolished by Lord Charles Somerset, 322

Calton, Thomas: in 1820 brings a party of British settlers to the Cape, 291

Camel, storeship: on the 20th of September 1799 is unsuccessfully attacked in Algoa Bay by a French frigate, 56

Campagne, Hubert Dirk: in 1796 is arrested for opposition to the government, and is sent to England, 9

Campbell, Captain Duncan: in 1820 brings a party of British settlers to the Cape, and is located on the river Zonderend, 292; subsequent movements of the party, 295; in July 1828 he is appointed civil commissioner of Somerset and Albany, 432

Campbell, Rev. J.: in 1813 visits the Griquas and the Batlapin, 212

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Casalis, Rev. Eugene, of the Paris evangelical society: in June 1833 with his colleagues founds the mission station Morija in the Lesuto, 409

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Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, the South African: on the 18th of August 1824 is first published in Capetown, 358; and continues in existence until the end of 1826, 359

Christian, Rear Admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry: in March 1798 assumes command of the fleet on the Cape station, 41

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Church ordinance of Mr. De Mist: see Dutch reformed church

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Cockburn, Rear Admiral Sir George: from October 1815 to June 1816 commands on the Cape station, 242

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Collins, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard: in 1808 and 1809 visits various parts of South Africa, and sends in some valuable reports and recommendations, 172

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Commerce with Kaffirs: in April 1817 it is arranged by Lord Charles Somerset and Gaika that twice a year parties of Xosas may visit Grahamstown for trading purposes, 264; from 1821 to 1830 trade is carried on by means of fairs at Fort Willshire, 304; and by illicit dealers, 304; but after 1830 traders are licensed to enter Kaffirland, 305

Commercial Advertiser, the South African: on the 7th of January 1824 is first published in Capetown, 357; on the 8th of May is suppressed by order of Lord Charles Somerset, 358; with Earl Bathurst's permission, on the 31st of August 1825 is commenced again, 360

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Constantia wine: sixty aams are claimed every year by the government at a fixed price, 65

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Court of commissioners for the trial of petty cases in the Cape district: in March 1809 is abolished, and a court of landdrost and heemraden is substituted, 167

Courts of landdrost and heemraden: in 1797 have their power enlarged, 31; on the 1st of January 1828 are abolished, and in their stead civil commissioners and resident magistrates are appointed, 432

Court of vice admiralty: in 1797 is established in Capetown, 31; and again in 1806; on the 1st of January 1828 it is abolished, and its duties are transferred to the chief justice, 430

Cowan, Dr.: with Lieutenant Donovan in 1808 leads an exploring expedition into the interior, and perishes, 169

Cradock, Lieutenant-General Sir John Francis: is appointed governor of the Cape Colony, 189; in September 1811 assumes duty, 189; in 1813 makes a tour through the colony, 206; requests permission to return to England, 214; in April 1814 transfers the government to Lord Charles Somerset, and on the 1st of May leaves South Africa, 214

Cradock, village of: in July 1812 a deputy landdrost of Graaff-Reinet is stationed at this place, 197; which in January 1814 receives the name Cradock, 197; in June 1818 a congregation of the Dutch reformed church is established; in March 1825 the sub-drostdy is abolished, 334

Craig, Major-General James Henry: is appointed by Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke commandant of the town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, 5; and on the 15th of November 1795 becomes head of the Cape government with this title, 5; in May 1797 transfers the administration to Lord Macartney, and proceeds to Bengal, 25

Cungwa, chief of the Gunukwebe clan of Xosas: in January 1812 is killed in war, 195

Curtis, Vice-Admiral Sir Roger: in December 1799 assumes command of the fleet on the Cape station, 62

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Cuyler, Jacob Glen: in January 1806 becomes landdrost of Uitenhage, 154; in 1815 commands the combined military and burgher forces against a party of insurgents, 235; acts as public prosecutor at the trial of the insurgents, 238

Daniell, Samuel: in 1801 visits the Batlapin country as an artist, 87
Davids, Peter: succeeds Barend Barends as captain of a clan of Griquas, 421; in December 1833 with his people is induced by Wesleyan missionaries to settle at Lishuane, 422; in 1834 while hunting along the Vaal river is surprised by a party of Matabele soldiers, who carry off his daughter and a nephew, 424
Dawson, William: in July 1822 becomes teacher of the high school at George, 311
De Caen, General: on the 3rd of December 1810 surrenders Mauritius to a British force, 184
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Delport, Petrus Jacobus: in 1798 is banished from the Cape Colony by the governor, 28
Denyssen, Daniel: from 1803 to 1806 is a judge in the high court of justice, 102; in August 1812 becomes fiscal; on the 1st of January 1828 retires with a pension, 431
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Dingan, chief of the Zulus: in 1828 causes Matiwane, the Amangwane chief, to be starved to death, 387; in September 1832 sends an army against Moselekatse, but it is defeated and obliged to retreat, 415; further particulars concerning, 424
Dingiswayo, chief of the Abatetwa: goes through some strange adventures before acquiring power, 375; from his becoming chief to his death carries on aggressive war against his neighbours, 376
Distress of the British settlers caused by the great flood of October 1823: account of the, 330
District secretary: before the appointment of civil commissioners in 1828 the duties of the officer who held this title were to keep the records of the district, to prepare the yearly statistical returns of population, cattle, produce, &c., to receive the local taxes, to take minutes of the proceedings of the board of landdrost and heemraden, and to draft the correspondence of that board. Except in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, the secretaries were the only auctioneers allowed, and were responsible to government for the duties on sales. After the establishment of the circuit court, another officer was appointed at each drostdy, with the title of district clerk. He was required to have some knowledge of law, as it was his duty to prepare all the proceedings in criminal cases before the arrival of the judges, and to summon the parties and witnesses in civil cases to attend

Division of the Cape Colony into two provinces in January 1828: details of the, 432

Donkin, Sir Rufane Shawe: on the 12th of January 1820 becomes acting governor during the absence on leave of Lord Charles Somerset, 260; overturns Lord Charles Somerset's frontier measures, 301; alters the design of Fort Willshire, 308; does not meet Lord Charles Somerset after his resumption of the government in November 1821, 309; but returns to England and engages there in bringing the faults of the Cape government to notice, 309

Duckitt, William: in September 1800 arrives from England as superintendent of the agricultural department, 66

Dundas, Major-General Francis: in May 1797 becomes lieutenant governor and commander of the forces in the Cape Colony, 25; in November 1798 on the retirement of Lord Macartney becomes acting governor, 41; and until December 1799 carries on the administration, 41 *et seq.*; from April 1801 to February 1803 again acts as governor, 70; on the 21st of February 1803 transfers the colony to the Batavian commissioner-general De Mist, 98; and on the 5th of March sails for England, 100

Dundas, Captain William Bolden: in January 1825 is appointed landdrost of Albany, 331; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset, 432

Durand, Commandant: with one hundred and twenty burghers assists in the defeat of the Amangwane, 394

Dushane, minor son of the Xosa chief Ndlambe: upon the death of Cebo, right-hand son of Rarabe, without leaving an heir, is chosen to succeed that chief, 268; for a long time takes no part in the contest for power between Gaika and Ndlambe, 268; as he advances in years displays greater ability than any other chief in Kaffirland, 268; is not on good terms with his father, owing to his mother being ill-treated, 269; but early in 1818 a reconciliation takes place, and thereafter their clans act in alliance, though remaining distinct, 269; on the 22nd of April 1819 is the leader of one of the columns that attack Grahamstown, 277

Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony: in July 1804 is placed completely under the control of the civil authorities by an ordinance of Mr. De Mist, 119; in November 1824 the first synod meets, 344; further particulars, 92, 119, 120, 207, 208, 209, 228, 257, 309, and 310

Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony, extension of: the first elders and deacons are approved by the government on the 31st of May 1798 for the congregation at Swellendam, 37; on the 27th of May 1811 for the congregation at Caledon, 169; on the 9th of February 1813 for the congregation at George, 168; on the 19th of June 1816 for the congregation at Uitenhage, 255; on the 10th of June 1818 for the congregation at Cradock, 198; on the 10th of

August 1819 for the congregation at Somerset West, 256; on the 16th of May 1820 for the congregation at Beaufort West, 249; on the 25th of January 1821 for the congregation at Worcester, 250; on the 28th of July 1825 for the congregation at Colesberg, 345; on the 26th of October 1825 for the congregation at Somerset East, 346; on the 12th of July 1826 for the congregation at Durbanville, 346; and on the 17th of August 1826 for the congregation at Clanwilliam, 346

Earthquake, shocks of in Capetown: in December 1809 and June 1811, 186

Ecclesiastical statistics in 1825, 350

Edeman, Cornelis: in 1800 is flogged and banished for sedition, 65

Edgar, Rev. James: in May 1828 becomes the first resident clergyman of Durbanville, 346

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Edwards, William: particulars concerning his career in South Africa and his opposition to Lord Charles Somerset, 357

Efforts to improve the breed of horses, horned cattle, and sheep: particulars concerning, 66 and 118

Elim, Moravian mission station: in 1824 is founded, 349

Elphinstone, Admiral Sir George Keith: in August 1796 captures a Dutch fleet of nine ships in Saldanha Bay, 10 *et seq.*

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English episcopal church: in October 1811 the first clergyman who is not a military chaplain is appointed in Capetown, 210; further particulars concerning, 92, 177, 178, 179, 207, 209, 257, 291, 295, and 347

English East India Company: in 1803 its property in Capetown is confiscated, 109

English language: after 1824 supersedes Dutch in the public offices, and after 1827 in the courts of law, 317; for a short time jurymen are disqualified by two of the judges for not understanding it, 435

Enon, Moravian mission station: in 1816 is founded, 257; is pillaged and destroyed in the fifth Kaffir war, 276; but is subsequently re-occupied, 257

Enterprise, steamship: in October 1825 puts into Table Bay, 335

Erskine, Rev. Thomas: in October 1818 becomes chaplain of the English episcopal church at Simonstown, but resigns in the following year, 257

Evans, Rev. John: in June 1817 assumes duty as first clergyman of Cradock, 197; early in 1823 dies, 347

Evatt, Captain: in February 1825 is appointed resident magistrate of Port Elizabeth, 332

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Expedition of Messrs. Truter and Somerville in 1801 to the Betshuana country, 87

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Expedition of Messrs. Cowan and Donovan in 1808 to the Betshuana country: unfortunate fate of the, 169

Exports of South African produce: during the first British occupation, 36

Extension of the Cape Colony: on the 14th of July 1798 is extended by Lord Macartney to the Fish river from its mouth up to Esterhuis's Poort at the end of the Kaga mountain, the Kaga mountain to the Tarka mountain, the Tarka mountain to the Bamboes mountain, the Bamboes mountain to the Zuur mountain, the Zuur mountain to Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river, Plettenberg's beacon to Great Table mountain, thence to the Nieuwveld mountains, along the Nieuwveld mountains to the source of the Riet river, the Riet and Fish rivers behind the Roggeveld mountain, the Spioen mountain, the Kabiskow peak, the Long mountain, the northern point of the Kamies mountain, and the river Koussie or Buffalo to the Atlantic, 35; on the 20th of February 1805 is extended by the council to the Koussie or Buffalo river from its mouth to its source in the Koperberg, thence south-eastward in as nearly as possible a straight line—but following the mountains—to the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers, thence the Zak river to its source in the Nieuwveld mountains, thence the Nieuwveld mountains to the Sneeuwberg, and thence north-eastward a line enclosing the Great Table mountain to the Zeekoe river at Plettenberg's beacon; the eastern boundary to remain as fixed by Lord Macartney, 127; on the 9th of September 1824 is extended by Lord Charles Somerset to the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers and the Stormberg spruit on the north-east, thence the Orange river to about longitude 24° 20′, thence a straight line to the Pramberg, and thence an irregular curve cutting the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers and continuing to the mouth of the Buffalo river on the shore of the Atlantic, 334; on the 11th of March 1825 is extended by Lord Charles Somerset to the Koonap river on the east, 334

Faber, Cornelis: is one of the leaders of the insurrection of 1815, 232; after the failure of the insurrection flees towards Kaffirland, but is followed by a party of Hottentot soldiers, and is overtaken and seized after being wounded, 237; is sentenced to death by a commission of the high court of justice, 238; and on the 9th of March 1816 is executed at Van Aardt's post on the Fish river, 239

Faber, Martha, wife of Jan Bezuidenhout: aids her husband in resisting the pandours sent to arrest him after the Slachter's Nek rebellion in 1815, 237; is banished for life from the districts of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, and George, 239

Failure of an attempt made by the French frigate *Prudente* in 1799 to aid the nationals of Graaff-Reinet, 56

Fairbairn, John: with Mr. Thomas Pringle edits the *Commercial Advertiser* shortly after its first appearance, 357; in August 1825 becomes sole editor, 360

Fairs for trade with Kaffirs: from 1821 to 1830 are held at Fort Willshire, 304

Fall of large masses of rock from Table Mountain, 91

Fallowes, Rev. Fearon: in August 1821 arrives at the Cape as first astronomer royal, 305

Faure, Abraham: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Stellenbosch, 433

Faure, Anthony Alexander: in November 1795 is restored to his office as landdrost of Swellendam, 4; in January 1810 retires on a pension, 211

Fieldcornets: in October 1805 have their qualifications and duties strictly defined by an ordinance, 130

Fifth Kaffir war: in the winter of 1818 Gaika, having been defeated by his rival Ndlambe in a great battle, requests aid from the white people, 274; it being the policy of the colonial government at that time to support him, Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, with a small force of soldiers and mounted burghers, is sent to his aid, 275; Ndlambe's followers retire to dense thickets, but some of their kraals are destroyed, and twenty-three thousand head of cattle are captured, 275; as the followers of Gaika are unwilling to show mercy to their opponents, the commando is soon withdrawn, and the burghers are disbanded, 275; Ndlambe then pours his followers into the colony, and they devastate the Zuurveld and kill a number of people, 276; on the 22nd of April 1819, under the leadership of a seer named Makana, they attack Grahamstown, 277; but after sustaining great loss of life are repulsed, 278; in July 1819 a strong European force in three divisions enters Kaffirland, 279; and inflicts very heavy loss upon the adherents of Ndlambe, who are utterly broken, 279; on the 15th of August 1819 Makana surrenders, 279; hostilities then cease, though the European forces are kept in the field, 281; on the 15th of October Lord Charles Somerset has a conference at the Gwanga with Gaika and other chiefs, 281; when it is arranged that the tract of land between the Fish and Keiskama rivers shall be kept without other inhabitants than soldiers, 283

Fiftieth ordinance: particulars concerning, 442; in January 1829 is ratified by the imperial government, 447

Fingos: in 1824 the first of the refugees so called appear in western Kaffirland, 390; see Gubela and Madikane

Fire in Capetown: in the night of the 22nd of November 1798 causes much damage, 43

First circuit of judges of the high court of justice: particulars concerning, 199

Fiscal: before the appointment of an attorney-general in 1828 the fiscal was the adviser of the government in points of legal difficulty. He was the public prosecutor in all criminal offences committed in Capetown and in some special offences committed in other parts of the colony—ordinary cases being prosecuted by the respective landdrosts,—and he conducted all civil cases for the government. He could interfere with the landdrosts in any part of the colony in cases where they might be suspected of showing partiality, and in exceptionally difficult or important matters. Before the appointment of a police magistrate in Capetown he exercised summary jurisdiction over slaves, vagabonds, and runaway sailors in petty offences; and he had control of the constabulary arrangements

Fischer, J. H.: on the 1st of January 1810 becomes deputy landdrost at Clanwilliam; in July 1812 becomes landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, 211; in May 1815 is transferred to Tulbagh, 230

Fishing company, the South African chartered: account of the, 153

Fleck, Rev. Mr.: on the 26th of October 1820 dies

Flood of October 1823 in the eastern districts: account of the, 330

Form of government of the Cape Colony: from 1796 to 1803 under the first English administration, 24; from 1803 to 1806 under the Batavian Republic, 93; from the English conquest in 1806 to the creation of a council of advice in 1825, 160; from 1825 to the establishment of the supreme court in 1828, 338

Fort Beaufort: in 1823 is founded, 326

Fort Frederick: in 1799 is built on the shore of Algoa Bay, 55

Fort Willshire: in 1819, after the fifth Kaffir war, is commenced on the right bank of the Keiskama, 283; Lord Charles Somerset's designs regarding it are greatly altered by Sir Rufane Donkin, 308

Fourth Kaffir war: every possible effort having been made to conciliate the Xosas in the Zuurveld, without their depredations ceasing, in October 1811 a burgher force is called out to expel them from the colony, 192; Lieutenant-Colonel Graham is appointed commandant-general, and is directed to employ the burghers and the Hottentot regiment in the duty, 192; the Xosas refuse to remove peaceably, and the chief Ndlambe announces his intention to hold the Zuurveld, 193; before military operations commence, Landdrost Stockenstrom and eight farmers are murdered by a division of the Imidange clan, 194; in January 1812 the Gunukwebe clan is driven from its stronghold, with the loss of its chief Cungwa and twelve or fourteen men, 195; Ndlambe and Pato—Cungwa's heir and successor—then abandon the contest and retire across the Fish river, 195; early in February the Zuurveld is thoroughly scoured, and by the 24th of this month there is hardly a Kaffir within the colonial border, 196; the prisoners, sufficient corn for seed, and the cattle that have been captured are then restored to the expelled clans, who are

informed that they will not be molested as long as they remain in their own country, 196
Fraser, Rev. Colin: in December 1824 arrives from Scotland, and is appointed clergyman of Beaufort West, 310
Fraser, Lieutenant-Colonel George Sackville: on the 19th of October 1823 dies, 326; see Commandos
Fraserburg, district of: is named after the reverend Colin Fraser, 311
Fredericksburg: account of the intended settlement so called, 301 *et seq.*; the scheme is a failure, 314
French Hoek pass: in 1824 a road is completed through the, 328
de Freyn, Jan: in 1797 is skipper of the Dutch brig *Haasje*, 19; see *Haasje*

Gaika: in 1797 claims the chieftainship of the Rarabe clans, but is opposed by his uncle Ndlambe, 33; beats Ndlambe in a battle and takes him prisoner, 34; in the same year makes an agreement of friendship with the colonial authorities, 34; entices a young wife of Ndlambe from him, and thereby renews the intertribal quarrel, 50; in June 1803 enters into an agreement of friendship with Governor Janssens, 108; in 1809 is very poor, and is living on the banks of the upper Keiskama, 173; refuses to aid the insurgents of 1815 against the government, 234; on the 2nd of April 1817 has an interview with Lord Charles Somerset at the Kat river, 263; is treated by Lord Charles as the sole chief of the Xosas in alliance with the colony, 264; agrees with Lord Charles that compensation can be demanded from any kraal to which stolen cattle are traced, 264; in 1818 is residing in the Tyumie valley, 271; in the winter of this year is defeated by Ndlambe with great loss in the battle of Amalinde, 274; flees to the Winterberg, and sends to the nearest military post, urgently requesting aid, 274; being assisted by an armed European force, he is able to do much damage to Ndlambe, 275; but upon the retirement of the commando is again obliged to flee, 276; being once more restored to the position of principal chief of the Rarabe clans by the aid of European forces, he agrees—though very unwillingly—with Lord Charles Somerset that the land between the Fish and the Keiskama shall remain unoccupied except by soldiers, 283; in June 1821 at a conference with Sir Rufane Donkin consents to the territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers being given to European immigrants, 301; in 1822 is compelled by the government to punish a murderer with death, 322; in February of this year an ineffectual attempt is made to arrest him, 323
Garrison of the Cape Colony:—
78th regiment, in November 1797 leaves for India, 22
80th regiment, in December 1797 leaves for India, 22

Scotch brigade, in September 1797 arrives, 22; in November 1798 leaves for India, 41
86th regiment, in September 1797 arrives, 22; in February 1799 leaves for India, 43
8th light dragoons, in November 1797 arrive, 22: in February 1803 leave, 98
84th regiment, in November 1798 leaves for India, 41
28th light dragoons, in November 1798 leave for India, 41
61st regiment, in January 1799 arrives, 43; in March 1801 leaves, 95
81st regiment, in January 1799 arrives, 43; in December 1802 leaves, 95
22nd regiment, in May 1800 arrives, 63; in November 1802 leaves, 96
34th regiment, in May 1800 arrives, 63; in February 1803 leaves, 98
65th regiment, in March 1801 arrives, 95; in February 1803 leaves, 98
91st regiment, in March 1803 leaves, 99
59th regiment, in January 1806 arrives, 139; in March 1806 leaves, 158
20th light dragoons, in January 1806 arrive, 139; in August 1806 leave, 158
24th regiment, in January 1806 arrives, 139; in June 1810 leaves, 183
38th regiment, in January 1806 arrives, 139; in August 1806 leaves, 158
71st regiment, in January 1806 arrives, 139; in April 1806 leaves, 158
72nd regiment, in January 1806 arrives, 139; in November 1810 leaves, 183
83rd regiment, in January 1806 arrives; in September 1817 leaves, 267
93rd regiment, in January 1806 arrives, 139; in May 1814 leaves, 213
21st light dragoons, in July 1806 arrive, 158; in June 1817 leave, 267
87th regiment, in October 1807 arrives, 159; in November 1810 leaves, 183
60th regiment, in July 1806 the fourth battalion arrives, 159; in March 1808 leaves, 159; in September 1811 the first battalion arrives, 195; in January 1819 leaves, 275
72nd regiment, in February 1816 the first battalion arrives, 267
Royal African corps, in July 1817 arrives, 267; in June 1821 is partly disbanded, 301
38th regiment, in November 1818 arrives, 275
54th regiment, in May 1819 arrives, 279
Gazette: in August 1800 is first published at the Cape, 69

Geary, Rev. William: cause of his opposition to Lord Charles Somerset, 364

Gebhard, Rev. J. W. L.: in June 1810 arrives in South Africa and is appointed clergyman of the Drakenstein congregation, 209

Genadendal, Moravian mission station: in January 1806 receives its present name, 110; in 1803 is very favourably regarded by Commissioner-General De Mist, 110

George, district of: in April 1811 is formed out of a portion of the old district of Swellendam, 167

George, village of: in June 1811 is founded, 167; in February 1813 a congregation of the Dutch reformed church is established here, 168

Gerotz, Carel David: in September 1796 is empowered by General Craig to act as landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, 16; in July 1797 transfers the duty to Mr. Bresler, 33

Gethin, Captain: loses his life in the fifth Kaffir war, 276

Glasgow missionary society: in 1821 commences to work in South Africa, 349

Glenbervie, Lord: in 1801 is appointed governor of the Cape Colony, but never enters upon the duty, 69 and 75

Goderich, Viscount: from April to September 1827 is secretary of state for the colonies, 366; in November 1830 takes the same office again, 429

Goës (corruption of Leghoyas): take refuge in the Cape Colony in a famishing state, and are apprenticed to farmers, 386

Gontse: see Barolong tribe

Gosling, James: in 1818 introduces a few English boys as immigrants, 287

Gosselin, Constant, of the Paris evangelical society: in June 1833 with his colleagues founds the mission station Morija in the Lesuto, 409

Government bank: this bank conducted business under three headings. 1. Mortgages. In this branch money was advanced on landed property, with collateral personal security. Payment usually commenced upon the expiration of two years from the date of the loan, and was made at the rate of ten per cent per annum. 2. Temporary loans. In this branch money was lent for six months on security of slaves or other movable property. 3. Discount. In this branch bills and notes of hand payable within three months were discounted, if the security was considered sufficient

van de Graaff, Henry: in August 1804 is appointed first landdrost of the district of Tulbagh, 115

Graham, Lieutenant-Colonel John: upon the conquest of the Cape Colony in 1806 is instructed to form a regiment of Hottentots, 149; commands the united military and burgher forces in the fourth Kaffir war, 192; in October 1820 is appointed first landdrost of the

district of Albany, but is unable to assume the duty, 299; in March 1821 dies, 299

Grahamstown: in March 1812 the headquarters of the troops on the frontier occupy this place, 198; in July a deputy landdrost of Uitenhage is stationed here, 198; and in August the name Grahamstown is given to the encampment in honour of Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, of the Cape regiment, 198; on the 22nd of April 1819 it is unsuccessfully attacked by a great horde of Xosas, 277

Grand, George Francis: occupies a vague position in the government of the Cape Colony under the Batavian Republic, 125; on the 17th of January 1820 dies in Capetown

Great storm of July 1822: account of the, 320

Grey, Lieutenant-General Henry George: from January to May 1807 is acting governor, 160; and again from July to September 1811, 188

Griffith, Lieutenant Valentine: in 1820 brings a party of British settlers to the Cape, and is located on the river Zonderend, 292; subsequent movements of the party, 295

Griquas: the people so called are composed of wanderers of various races who were collected together by missionaries of the London society and induced to settle near the junction of the Vaal and Orange rivers, 132; in 1805 their settlements are visited and described by a government commission, 132; in 1813 the reverend J. Campbell gives them the name Griquas, which they adopt, 212; some of them become marauders, and commit great atrocities upon the Basuto, 406; see Cornelius Kok and Waterboer

Groote Post: in May 1804 the tract of land so named at Groenekloof is set apart as an experimental and stock-improving farm, 118; which is continued by Major-General Baird, 153; in March 1815 Lord Charles Somerset assumes personal control of it, 221; and uses the estate as a preserve for game, 351; in October 1827 it is divided into seven farms, which are disposed of by auction, 436

Gubela, wife of Umjoli, chief of the Abasekunene: acts in a very valiant manner against Tshaka's armies, but is ultimately beaten and killed, 388

Gurney, Charles: in 1820 brings a party of British settlers to the Cape, and is located at Algoa Bay, 293

Haas, Rev. Johan: from February 1799 to February 1802 is acting clergyman of the Lutheran church in Capetown, 92

Haasje, Dutch brig: in 1797 is sent from Batavia with munitions of war to aid the nationals of Graaff-Reinet against the English, 18; springs a leak at sea, and puts into Delagoa Bay to refit, 19; where she is seized by a combined force of English and Portuguese, 20; and is sent as a prize to Simon's Bay, 20

Halloran, Rev. Dr. Laurence: strange career of, 178
Hankey mission station: in 1825 is founded in the Cape Colony by the London society, 349
Hanto, Jan, Korana captain: in December 1833 with his people is induced by Wesleyan missionaries to settle at Merumetsu, 420
Harding, William Walter: on the 15th of November 1826 is appointed deputy landdrost of Beaufort in succession to Mr. J. Baird; in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Beaufort West, 433
Harker, Captain R. C.: on the 15th of November 1826 is appointed resident at Plettenberg's Bay in succession to Mr. W. W. Harding
Hart, Robert: in 1817 succeeds Dr. Mackrill as superintendent of the Somerset farm, 221
Hayward, William: in May 1824 is appointed special commissioner in Albany, 331
Heads of the Cape government: succession of,
Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and Generals Alured Clarke and James Henry Craig, conjointly, as commanders of the British forces, from 16th September to 15th November 1795;
Major-General James Henry Craig, commandant of the town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, 15th November 1795 to 5th May 1797;
George, Earl Macartney, governor, 5th May 1797 to 20th November 1798;
Major-General Francis Dundas, acting governor, 21st November 1798 to 9th December 1799;
Sir George Yonge, governor, 10th December 1799 to 20th April 1801;
Major-General Francis Dundas, acting governor, 20th April 1801 to 20th February 1803;
Jacob Abraham de Mist, commissioner-general, 21st February 1803 to 25th September 1804;
Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens, governor, 1st March 1803 to 18th January 1806;
Major-General David Baird, acting governor, 10th January 1806 to 17th January 1807;
Lieutenant-General Henry George Grey, acting governor, 17th January to 21st May 1807;
du Pré Alexander, earl of Caledon, governor, 22nd May 1807 to 4th July 1811;
Lieutenant-General Henry George Grey, acting governor, 4th July to 5th September 1811;
Lieutenant-General Sir John Francis Cradock, governor, 6th September 1811 to 6th April 1814;
Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset, governor, 6th April 1814 to 13th January 1820;

Major-General Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, acting governor, 13th January 1820 to 30th November 1821 ;
General Lord Charles Henry Somerset, governor, 30th November 1821 to 5th March 1826 ;
Major-General Richard Bourke, acting governor, 5th March 1826 to 9th September 1828
Heemraden : in October 1805 have their qualifications and duties strictly defined by an ordinance, 129 ; on the 1st of January 1828 the office is abolished, 432
Herold, Rev. Tobias Johannes : in April 1813 assumes duty as first clergyman of George, 168
Hesse, Rev. F. : in September 1800 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Lutheran church in Capetown ; in June 1817 leaves the colony to return to Europe
Heyning, Margaretha Anna, widow of Hendrik Pieter Moller : in 1799 establishes a perpetual fund for the relief of helpless and distressed old women, 224 ; in 1808 founds the South African orphan asylum, 226 ; on the 6th of January 1815 dies childless
High court of justice : in 1797 is remodelled and made to consist of a president and seven members, 31 ; in 1803 is made to consist of a president and six members, and is to be independent of the executive and legislative authority, 93 ; in 1806 again becomes dependent upon the executive government, 154 ; in December 1819 various changes in its powers and duties are made, 259 ; on the 1st of January 1828 it is abolished, and a supreme court of four qualified judges appointed by the crown is established, 431
Hintsa, paramount chief of the Xosa tribe : is a minor when his father Kawuta dies ; in 1809 is visited by Major Collins at his kraal between the Kei and Bashee rivers, 173 ; in 1818 assists Ndlambe against Gaika, 273 ; in 1828 assists in the destruction of the Amangwane, 394 ; further mention of, 390
Hlubis : see Amahlubi and Umpangazita
van Hogendorp, Gysbert Karel : in 1803 endeavours to establish colonists in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay, 116
Holloway, Major : is the designer of the road through the French Hoek pass, 328
Hope, Dutch schooner : in 1804 is wrecked near Walfish Bay, 134
Horses : the breed is greatly improved by animals imported by Lord Charles Somerset, 222
Hospital, old Somerset : in 1818 is opened in Capetown, 305
Hottentots : particulars concerning the insurrection in 1799 of those of Graaff-Reinet, 48 *et seq.* ; particulars concerning their general treatment by colonists, 104 ; in 1809 a very important proclamation concerning these people is issued by the earl of Caledon, 174 ; particulars concerning them from Lord Caledon's proclamation in 1809 to the passing of the fiftieth ordinance in July 1828, 436

Hottentot regiment: in April 1796 a number of Hottentots are enlisted for service in the interior of the Cape Colony, 9; in March 1799 the regiment is sent to Graaff-Reinet to assist in suppressing an insurrection, 47; in February 1803 it is transferred to the Batavian authorities, 106; it is enlarged to six hundred men by General Janssens, 109; on the English conquest in 1806 the regiment is reformed and placed under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, 149; in 1814 it is enlarged to eight hundred men, 229; it is very objectionable to the colonists, 229; in September 1817 it is disbanded, and in its stead a mixed cavalry and infantry corps of six officers and two hundred and forty-seven men—half-breeds and Hottentots—is raised, 267; in October 1819 the corps is enlarged to four hundred and fifty men, 283; in 1823 it is enlarged to two hundred and sixty cavalry and two hundred and fifty infantry, 325

Hough, Rev. George: in September 1813 becomes the first clergyman of the English episcopal church at Simonstown, 210; in February 1817 is transferred to Capetown, 257

Hudson, Hougham: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Port Elizabeth, 433

Huilebalken at funeral processions: note concerning, 220

Huskisson, Mr.: from August 1827 to May 1828 is secretary of state for the colonies, 429

Immigrants from Europe: in 1803 a few individuals are brought from Holland by Major Von Bouchenroeder, 117; in 1817 two hundred Scotch mechanics and labourers are brought out by Mr. Benjamin Moodie, 286; in 1817 and 1818 seven or eight hundred time expired soldiers are discharged in Capetown, 287; in 1818 and 1819 a few are introduced by Messrs. Gosling and Tait, 287; in 1820 and 1821 nearly five thousand individuals of British birth settle in the colony, 292 *et seq.*; in 1823 three hundred and thirty-six Irish labourers are brought out by Mr. John Ingram, 329

Immigrants of coloured blood: during the British occupation from 1795 to 1803 many negroes are introduced as slaves, 29; in 1806 and 1807 several hundred slaves are introduced, 157 and 162; and after the suppression of the slave trade negroes taken in ships captured at sea are brought here, 166

Imparani mission station: in December 1833 is founded by the Wesleyan society near the Lesuto, 422

Imports: amount of during the first English occupation of the Cape Colony, 36

Indian plants found wild in Eastern Africa: mention of, 400

Ingram, John: in 1820 brings a party of Irish settlers to the Cape, 292; and is located with them at Clanwilliam, 294; subsequent movements of the party, 295; in 1823 brings out another party of Irish labourers, 329

Innes, James Rose, M.A. : in July 1822 arrives from Scotland, and is appointed teacher of the high school at Uitenhage, 311
Insurrection at Graaff-Reinet in 1799 : account of, 42 *et seq.* ; sentences of the prisoners, 64
Insurrection in 1815 of a party of frontier farmers : account of, 229 *et seq.*
Intertribal Bantu wars originating with Tshaka : account of, 379 *et seq.*

van Jaarsveld, Adriaan : in March 1796 is one of the leading men of the Graaff-Reinet party that refuses to receive the landdrost appointed by the English government, 7 and 8 ; in August 1796 signs a document promising fidelity to the English government, 16 ; in January 1799 is arrested at Graaff-Reinet on a charge of having committed forgery, 44 ; is rescued from the guard by a party of farmers under the leadership of Marthinus Prinsloo, 45 ; in April is arrested again by a party of soldiers, and is sent a prisoner to Cape-town, 48 ; in September 1800 is brought to trial, and is sentenced to death, 63 ; the execution of the sentence is suspended by the governor, 64 ; but the prisoner dies in confinement, 103
Janssens, Lieutenant-General Jan Willem : is appointed governor of the Cape Colony, 94 ; in December 1802 arrives from the Netherlands, 95 ; on the 1st of March 1803 is installed, 102 ; with the scanty means at his disposal he is not able to assemble a large force when at the beginning of 1806 a powerful English army lands on the shore opposite Robben Island, 140 ; with a mixed force of rather over two thousand men, however, he marches from Capetown, 140 ; on the 8th of January meets the British army, and is defeated in battle, 142 ; retires to the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, 143 ; but finding it impossible to hold out, on the 18th enters into a capitulation for himself and the troops with him, 148 ; and on the 6th of March leaves for Holland, 150
Jones, Major James : in May 1821 is appointed landdrost of Albany, 299 ; in December of the same year is obliged to retire, 314
Jones, Rev. Robert : in October 1811 becomes first resident clergyman of the English episcopal church in Capetown, 210 ; in February 1817 resigns, 257
Judge, Rev. Edward, a clergyman of the English church : in May 1825 opens a high-class school in Capetown, 364
Judges : before the establishment of the supreme court in 1828, the judges, in addition to their judicial duties, had various tasks imposed upon them. Two in succession were required to hold a weekly court in the colonial secretary's office, for the purpose of passing and registering transfers of landed property, registering mortgages and other deeds of security, ascertaining the competency of the parties to the acts, and seeing that the deeds were legally prepared. The signature of a member of the high court of justice was requisite to the issue of each note of the paper currency. Two members were required

to be present when defaced or worn-out notes were burned, and two attended to the stamping of fresh notes, the dies whereof were kept under the joint seals of the court and the governor. A member of the court was required to attend the impression of stamps, and his certificate of issue was the check upon the collector of stamp duties. The dies for the stamps were kept under the joint seals of the court and the governor. The judges were also required to execute the duties of coroners in Capetown and the Cape district

Julia, cruiser: on the 2nd of October 1817 is wrecked at Tristan da Cunha, 246

Justices of the peace: in January 1828 are first created, 434

Kaffir converts to Christianity: note upon, 272

Kaffraria: condition of from 1826 to 1836, 426

Kat river, upper valleys of the: in 1821 are surveyed for the reception of a party of Scotch people, who, however, do not come to South Africa, 301

Kaufman, Rev. F. R.: in June 1817 becomes pastor of the Lutheran church in Capetown, 257

Kawuta, paramount chief of the Xosa tribe: takes as his wife a daughter of Tshatshu, a petty Tembu chief, 389; in 1797 assists Ndlambe against Gaika, 34

Kekewich, George: from 1806 to 1828 is judge of the vice-admiralty court; on the 1st of January 1828 becomes a judge in the newly established supreme court of the Cape Colony, 431

van Kervel, Adriaan Gysbert: in April 1811 becomes landdrost of the new district of George, 167

Kicherer, Rev. J. J.: in March 1799 arrives in South Africa as an agent of the London missionary society, 59; forms a station among the Bushmen on the Zak river, 60; in 1801 is engaged in mission work north of the Orange river, 88; in January 1806 leaves the service of the London missionary society and becomes clergyman of Graaff-Reinet, 209; in December 1815 is transferred to Tulbagh; on the 1st of April 1825 dies

Kitchingman, Rev. Mr.: in 1824 obtains an enlargement of the grounds of Bethelsdorp, 440

Klaas Smit's river: in 1822 is made the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony, 333

de Klerk, Theunis: is one of the leaders of the insurrection of 1815, 233; after the failure of the insurrection surrenders to the authorities, 236; is sentenced to death by a commission of the high court of justice, 238; and on the 9th of March 1816 is executed at Van Aardt's post on the Fish river, 239

Knox, Captain Robert: in 1825 submits to Lord Charles Somerset plans for the construction of a safe harbour for shipping in Table Bay, 367

Knysna, the: description of, 250; the greater part of the land about the inlet comes into possession of Mr. George Rex, 251; in May 1817 the sloop of war *Podargus* enters the inlet, 252; after this date timber is frequently shipped there, 253; in February 1818 a pilot is stationed at the entrance, 253; the progress in the formation of a village is slow, 253

Kok, Adam, Griqua captain; in June 1823 assists to defeat the Mantati horde, 384

Kok, Cornelis, captain of halfbreeds: in 1798 applies for assistance from the colonial government against the robber Afrikaner, 58

Kok, Cornelis II., Griqua captain: in June 1823 assists to defeat the Mantati horde, 384

Kolver, Rev. A.: in 1797 dies, 92

Korana marauders: commit great atrocities upon the Basuto, 406

Kowie river mouth: see Port Frances

Kuruman mission station: in 1817 is founded by the London society with the Batlapin tribe, 412

Kuys, Rev. J. A.: in January 1799 dies, 92

Lalande, M., French naturalist: in 1819 and 1820 resides in South Africa, 306

Lambert, Jonathan: in December 1810 occupies the island of Tristan da Cunha, 243

Lambert, Rear Admiral Sir Robert: in July 1820 assumes command on the Cape station, 242; on the 6th of November 1821 leaves the Cape for England

Landdrosts: by an ordinance of October 1805 have their duties strictly defined, 128; on the 1st of January 1828 the office is abolished, 432. Under the English administration the landdrosts were required to visit each ward or fieldcornetcy of their districts at least once a year, and to transmit to the governor a report upon its condition. They were political commissioners in the consistories, and presidents of the school boards. The board of landdrost and heemraden formed the matrimonial court of the district. Before it came in the first instance all disputes relative to boundaries of land, roads, or water-courses. To it were referred all applications for land within the district, which it reported upon, and assessed the value if the ground could be alienated without inconvenience. An officer entitled the inspector of lands and woods then commented upon this report and valuation for the governor's information. The board of landdrost and heemraden had the management of the district finances, and performed duties similar to those of the present divisional councils, but could not expend for any single purpose more than five hundred rixdollars without the express sanction of the governor. The district accounts were submitted annually to the examination of the colonial auditor, and were open to the inspection of every

ratepayer. The landdrost and two heemraden acted as coroner within the district
Lander, Richard: particulars concerning, 454
Land tenure: particulars concerning the change made by Sir J. Cradock, 204
Law of inheritance: proclamation of Lord Charles Somerset concerning, 316
Lawson, Thomas: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Grahamstown, 433
Leghoyas: see Bataung
Leitner, Rev. Mr., of the Moravian mission: in 1823 goes to reside at the leper asylum at Hemel en Aarde, 255
Lemue, Rev. Prosper, of the Paris evangelical society: in 1829 endeavours to form a mission station with the Bahurutsi at Mosega, 408; in 1830 is obliged by the advance of Moselekatse to abandon Mosega, and with his colleagues founds the station Motito, ib.
Leper asylum: in 1817 is founded at Hemel en Aarde, 255
Lepui, chief of a Batlapin clan: in 1833 is led by the reverend Mr. Pellissier southward to Bethulie, and settles there, 410
Lesuto, the: see Basutoland
Letsie, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in June 1833 is sent by his father with a large party of people to reside at the mission station Morija, 409
Library, the South African public: in 1818 is founded, 317; particulars concerning the progress of, 318
Lieutenant-Governor: in 1816 the office is abolished, 260
Lighthouse: in April 1824 the first on the South African coast is lit at Green Point, 327
de Lille, Lieutenant-Colonel: after the conquest of the colony by the English in 1795 enters the British service and becomes barrack master at Capetown, 27
Lind, Christiaan Michiel: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Swellendam, 433
Lishuane mission station: in December 1833 is founded by the Wesleyan society near the border of the Lesuto, 422
Locusts: in 1799 in vast swarms infest the eastern part of the Cape Colony, 76; account given by Mr. Barrow of, 453
London missionary society: in March 1799 commences work in South Africa, 59; particulars concerning, 60, 81, 104, 111, 112, 131 to 133, 171, 200 to 203, 210 to 212, 247, 248, 258, 265, 349, 410, 412, and 440
de Lorentz, the baron Charles: in April 1826 becomes superintendent of police in Capetown, 433
Lovedale mission station: in November 1824 is founded by the Glasgow society on the Neera river, 349

Lucas, Admiral Engelbertus: in August 1796 in Saldanha Bay surrenders a fleet of nine Dutch ships to Admiral Elphinstone, 10 *et seq.*

Lutheran church in Capetown: particulars concerning, 92, 207, 209, and 257

Maas, Cornelis: is punished for spreading false reports, 155

Macartney, earl of: in May 1797 becomes governor of the Cape Colony, 25; is very severe with republicans, 28; resigns, and in November 1798 leaves South Africa, 41; on the 31st of March 1806 dies, 452

M'Cleland, Rev. Francis, of the English episcopal church: in 1820 arrives in the Cape Colony with a party of Irish settlers, and is stationed at Clanwilliam, 291; in November 1825 he is transferred to Port Elizabeth, 346

Mackay, William Macdonald: in January 1824 is appointed deputy landdrost at Cradock, 334; in March 1825 is promoted to be landdrost of Somerset, 334; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of the Cape and Simonstown districts, 432; prosecutes the reverend Dr. Philip for libel in the book *Researches in South Africa*, and obtains judgment in his favour, 448 and 449

M'Kenny, Rev. Mr.: is sent to South Africa in 1814 by the Wesleyan society, but is not permitted by Lord Charles Somerset to act as a clergyman in Capetown, 258; in consequence of which he returns to England, 258

Mackrill, Dr.: is first superintendent of the Somerset farm, 221

Madikane: is leader of a Bantu horde driven westward by the armies of Tshaka, 390; on the 20th of December 1824 is defeated and killed in a battle with the Tembus and Xosas, ib.; his followers are the first Fingos

Mahlapo tribe: mention of, 405

Mail packet service: in 1815 is first established between England and the Cape, 222

Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketse tribe: in 1823 defeats the Mantati horde, 384; is killed in battle with the horde under Sebetoane, 414

Makalanga, the: mention of, 373 and 400

Makana, Xosa seer and warrior leader: account of, 269; early in 1818 declares himself a partisan of Ndlambe, and by so doing turns the balance of power against Gaika, 271; is the leading actor in the invasion of the colony in 1819 by Ndlambe's adherents, 276; on the 22nd of April 1819 attacks Grahamstown, 278; but is repulsed, 278; on the 15th of August surrenders to Landdrost Stockenstrom, 279; is sent a prisoner to Robben Island, 280; on the 9th of August 1820 is drowned while attempting to escape, 280; but for half a century afterwards his countrymen refuse to believe that he is dead, 280

Makatees (corruption of Mantatis): take refuge in the Cape Colony in a famishing state, and are apprenticed to farmers, 386
Makhoakhoa tribe: mention of, 369 and 405
Makololo tribe, mention of, 412
Makoma, right-hand son of Gaika: in April 1817 is present at an interview between his father and Lord Charles Somerset, 263; in the winter of 1818 commences his career as a warrior, and acts very bravely in the battle of Amalinde, 274; in 1821 is permitted by the colonial government to occupy the valleys at the sources of the Kat river, 322; in December 1823 he is compelled to make compensation for robberies by his people, 326
Makwana, chief of the Bataung tribe: during the Zulu wars of extermination escapes with a few followers, and after the retirement of the invading hordes settles between the Vet and Sand rivers, 386 and 405; further mention of, 382
Malcolm, Rear Admiral Sir Pulteney: commands on the Cape station from June 1816 to June 1817, 242
Mamre, Moravian mission station: in March 1808 is founded, 170
von Manger, Rev. J. H.: in March 1796 leaves Graaff-Reinet, 9; and declines to return, 37; in June 1798 becomes the first clergyman of Swellendam, 37; in January 1802 is transferred to Capetown, 92
Manikusa: see Sotshangana
Mantati horde, career of the, 383
Ma Ntatisi, the renowned leader of the horde called after her Mantatis: is daughter of Mothage, chief of the Basia, and wife of Mokotsho, chief of the Batlokua, 370; acts as regent of the Batlokua during the minority of her son Sikonyela, 380; is one of the leaders of a great horde that lays waste the southern portion of the Transvaal territory, 382; is defeated by the Bangwaketse, 384; and in June 1823 by the Griquas, 385; then returns to the banks of the Caledon, and assists to devastate that country, 385; in 1823 attacks Moshesh, but unsuccessfully, 402; in 1824 again attacks him and drives him from Butabute, ib.
Maqoma (correct spelling): see Makoma
Maria Luisa, Dutch packet: on the 19th of October 1795 is captured outside of Table Bay, 6
Marriages: by an ordinance of Mr. De Mist, after the 1st of January 1805 marriages take place before the landdrost and heemraden of each district, 122; but by a proclamation of General Baird, after April 1806 can only be performed by ordained ministers of the Gospel, 156
Masonic lodge de Goede Hoop: dates from November 1772, 123; on the 7th of July 1803 its temple in Capetown is dedicated by Mr. De Mist, 123
Matabele tribe: estimate of the number of people composing the, 396; particulars concerning, 407 and 425; see Moselekatse

Matiwane, chief of the Amangwane tribe: in 1821 when trying to escape from Tshaka attacks and disperses the Amahlubi, 380; pursues them across the Drakensberg, 381; during seven years follows a murderous career in the country west of the Drakensberg, 386; in 1827 is defeated on the Caledon by a Zulu army, and retires across the Drakensberg into Tembuland, 392; drives the clan under Bawana over the Zwart Kei into the Cape Colony, ib.; devastates a large portion of the Tembu country, ib.; and then settles on the eastern bank of the Umtata, ib.; on the 26th of July 1828 some of his people are attacked and beaten by Vusani's Tembus, aided by an inspecting party of Europeans under Major Dundas, who believe they are opposing Tshaka's Zulus, 393; on the 27th of August 1828 his tribe is utterly broken and ruined in an engagement with a colonial commando under Colonel Somerset and an army of Xosas and Tembus under Hintsa and Vusani, 394; with a few of his warriors he flees northward to Dingan, who causes them all to be put to death, ib.

Matlapatlapa, chief of a clan of the Amazizi: mention of, 383

Mauritius, island of: operations which resulted in its surrender on the 3rd of December 1810 to a British force, 180 *et seq.*; in 1814 is ceded to England, 216

Mayiana tribe: mention of, 369

Maynier, Honoratus Christiaan David: in September 1799 accompanies General Dundas to the frontier, and makes an arrangement with the Xosas and Hottentots which he calls peace, 53; in December 1799 is stationed as commissioner in the frontier districts with very great power, 55; gives great dissatisfaction to the colonists, 76; in July 1801 parties of farmers appear in arms at the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, and require him to leave the district, 77; by a display of military force some of them are intimidated, and others retire beyond the colonial boundary, 77; in October they appear at the drostdy again, and invest it, 77; Major Sherlock with a strong military reinforcement is then sent to Graaff-Reinet, 78; but so many petitions and letters from friends of the government are sent in imploring the removal of Maynier that General Dundas recalls him, 78; and as soon as this becomes known the insurgent farmers disperse to their homes, 79; the complaints against Maynier are subsequently investigated by a special commission, 79; and he is acquitted of all misconduct, 80; after which he sits as a member of the high court of justice, and receives from General Dundas £1,000 as compensation for his losses and expenses, 81

Measures adopted by General Craig in 1796 for the restoration of order at Graaff-Reinet, 9

Meat: price of in 1798, 35

Meintjes, Jacobus Johannes: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Somerset East, 433

Mellvill, Mr., agent of the Cape government at Griquatown: induces the Griquas to March against the Mantatis, 384

Menzies, William: on the first of January 1828 becomes a judge in the newly established supreme court, 431

Merumetsu mission station: in December 1833 is founded by the Wesleyan society north of the Caledon river, 421

Michell, Major Charles Cornwallis: in 1829 becomes surveyor-general, civil engineer, and superintendent of works in the Cape Colony, 435

Military organisation of the burghers: in October 1805 is regulated by an ordinance, 130

de Mist, Jacob Abraham: is appointed commissioner-general, 94; in December 1802 arrives in Capetown from Holland, 95; on the 21st of February 1803 receives transfer of the colony from General Dundas, 98; in September 1804 lays down his authority, 125; and in February 1805 embarks in an American ship to return to Europe, 126

Moffat, Rev. Robert, of the London missionary society: in 1821 goes to reside at Kuruman, 412; further mention of, 258; induces the Griquas to march against the Mantati horde, 384; is present at the battle of Lithako, ib.; about the close of 1829 visits Moselekatse, and acquires great influence with him, 407

Mohamedan religion in Capetown: particulars concerning, 350

Mokotsho, chief of the Batlokua: mention of, 370

Mokuane, Baputi chief: in 1825 becomes a vassal of the Basuto chief Moshesh, 404

Mol, Rev. Cornelis: in March 1817 returns from Europe and becomes first resident clergyman of Uitenhage, 256; in July 1822 is transferred to Swellendam, 310

Molapo, son of the Basuto chief Moshesh: in June 1833 is sent by his father with a large party of people to reside at the mission station Morija, 409

Molesworth, Viscount and Lady: in May 1815 lose their lives in the wreck of the *Arniston*, 223

Molitsane, chief of a clan of the Bataung: after the dispersion of the Mantati horde wanders about the country west of the Caledon, 385; at length settles at Philippolis in vassalage to Adam Kok, ib.; further mention of, 382

Moller, Widow, see Heyning

Monte Video: expedition under Sir Home Popham and Brigadier-General Beresford against, 157 *et seq.*

Moodie, Benjamin: in 1817 brings to the Cape Colony two hundred Scotch mechanics and labourers, 286; in 1821 is connected with his brothers and part of the Royal African corps in an attempt to form a settlement between the Beka and Fish rivers, 302; but the settlers are obliged to abandon the territory, 315

Moodie, Lieutenant Donald: (see above); in February 1825 is appointed resident magistrate at Port Frances, 331

Mopete, chief of the Bataung: is killed by the Barolong chief Sifunelo, 382 and 412

Moravian missions: particulars concerning, 110, 169, 170, 210, 255, and 257

Morgan, Rev. George: in January 1826 arrives from Scotland, and is appointed clergyman of Somerset East, 310

Morija mission station: in June 1833 is founded in the Lesuto by the Paris evangelical society, 409

Moroko, chief of the Seleka clan of the Barolong: particulars concerning, 419 and 427; see Barolong tribe

Morosi, son of the Baputi chief Mokuane: in 1825 becomes a vassal of Moshesh, 404

Moselekatse, chief of the Matabele tribe: is commander of a division of the Zulu army, 395; about the year 1817 loses Tshaka's favour, ib.; with his soldiers flees across the mountains, ib.; and lays waste the centre of the country between the Vaal and the Limpopo, exterminating the inhabitants, ib.; at length settles down north of the Magalisberg, 396; and for many years sends out plundering parties in search of spoil, ib.; in 1831 sends an army against Moshesh, which unsuccessfully besieges Thaba Bosigo, 406; in 1830 and 1831 nearly exterminates the Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Bahurutsi, and Barolong tribes, 415; in September 1832 defeats an army sent against him by Dingan, ib.; but fearing he may again be attacked, moves farther to the west, and settles at Mosega, ib.; further particulars concerning, 416; see Matabele tribe

Moshesh, founder of the Basuto tribe: is son of a petty chief of the Baramokhele, 400; genealogy of, 401; is born at Lintshuaneng on the Tlotsi, 402; about the close of 1821 first sees white men, and is favourably impressed by their conduct, 407; is about eight or nine and twenty years old when his country is invaded by numerous hordes, 402; collects a party of warriors, and tries to make a stand at Butabute, ib.; in 1824 is attacked by Ma Ntatisi, and is driven from that place, ib.; takes possession of a natural fortress of great strength, named Thaba Bosigo, ib.; here he rapidly acquires strength and military renown, ib.; as the Amangwane are the most powerful people in the country, he professes to be their vassal, 403; after the death in battle of Umpangazita, is acknowledged by various parties of Hlubis as their protector, ib.; by his wisdom and good government attracts the remnants of many broken tribes to place themselves under him, ib.; by successful forays upon the Tembus becomes wealthy in cattle, 404; in 1825 subjects the Baputi clans to his authority, ib.; after the destruction of the Amangwane professes to be a vassal of Tshaka and pays him tribute, 405; in 1831 successfully holds Thaba Bosigo against a Matabele army,

406; sends two hundred head of cattle to Adam Kok, and requests a missionary in return, 408; in June 1833 welcomes missionaries of the Paris evangelical society to his country, 409; by 1834 is a chief of considerable power and widely-extended renown, 427

Mothage, chief of the Basia, mention of, 370

Mothibi, chief of the Batlapin: mention of, 384

Motlomi, chief of the Bamonaheng: mention of, 386

Murray, Rev. Andrew: in July 1822 arrives from Scotland, and is appointed clergyman of Graaff-Reinet, 310

Murray, Sir George: from May 1828 to November 1830 is secretary of state for the colonies, 429

Murray, Henry: in 1845 bequeaths a sum of money to the orphan asylum in Capetown, 227

Murraysburg, district of: is named after the reverend Andrew Murray, 311

Museum of natural history: in 1823 is established in Capetown, 320; but is allowed to fall into decay, 320

Mutiny in October 1797 in English ships of war on the Cape station: account of, 37 *et seq.*; note on, 452

Napoleon Bonaparte: on the 15th of October 1815 arrives at St. Helena as a prisoner, and on the 5th of May 1821 dies there, 242

Napoleon, French privateer: in December 1805 is run ashore near Hout Bay to avoid capture, 137

Natal: after 1570 is occupied by the Abambo, 398; between 1820 and 1824 is laid waste by the Zulu wars, and its inhabitants are either exterminated or driven away, 388

Nationals of Graaff-Reinet: after the conquest of the Cape Colony by the English in 1795, oppose the government until August 1796, when the majority of them submit, 16; and in January 1797 the others cease open resistance, 18

Ndlambe, son of the celebrated Xosa chief Rarabe: in 1797 opposes in arms the pretensions of his nephew Gaika, but is beaten, and is detained as a prisoner at his rival's kraal, 34; in February 1799 makes his escape, and, being joined by many people, crosses the Fish river with them and takes possession of the Zuurveld, 49; is successful in a war that follows with the colonial government, and which in 1803 is brought to a close, 86; but in 1812 is driven out of the colony by a powerful commando, 195; in 1817 is in a very depressed condition, 264; he refuses to surrender colonial cattle seen in his kraals, 268; but is compelled by a commando under Major Fraser to make restitution for recent robberies, 268; early in 1818, by Dushane and Makana joining him, becomes more powerful than Gaika, 268; in the winter of 1818 defeats Gaika in a great battle on the Kommetje flats, 274; in December 1818 is

attacked by a commando under Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, 275; when his people take refuge in dense thickets, and thus escape destruction, 275; as soon as the commando retires, he falls again upon Gaika, and compels that chief to flee westward, 275; in August 1819 is broken in power by a force of Europeans, 279

Neave, Joseph: in 1820 brings a party of settlers to the Cape, and is located on the river Zonderend, 293; subsequent movements of the party, 295

Neethling, Jan Henoch: in October 1803 is appointed a member of the high court of justice, 128

Nel, Commandant Willem: in 1815 aids the government against the insurgent farmers, 234

Nereide, frigate: heroic defence of the, 182

van der Nest, Cornelis: in September 1822 makes a raid upon Makoma's kraal, 324

Newlands house: is built by Lord Charles Somerset, 351; in March 1828 the estate is sold by auction, 436

Ngubencuka: see Vusani

Noné, a Baputi chief: in 1824 is driven by Moshesh from Thaba Bosigo, 402

Ntsikana, early Christian Kaffir: account of, 271

Oath of allegiance to the king of England required to be taken by the officials and burghers in 1795: form of, 5

Observatory, astronomical: in 1821 is established at the Cape by the commissioners of the admiralty, 305

Old Somerset hospital: in 1817 is founded in Capetown, 305

Oliphant, Anthony: on the establishment of the supreme court in the beginning of 1828 becomes attorney-general, 431

Olive: particulars concerning attempts to cultivate the tree at the Cape, 119

Orange river: description of the stream near Olivenhout drift, 90; from the junction of the Stormberg spruit to longitude 24° 20′ in 1824 is made the north-eastern boundary of the colony, 334

Orphan asylum, South African: in 1808 is founded by the widow Moller, 226; on the 26th of September 1815 is formally opened, 226; is managed by a board of mixed Lutherans and members of the Dutch reformed church, 226; in July 1811 receives a donation of five thousand rixdollars from the earl of Caledon, 226; in 1845 receives a bequest of £3,300 from Mr. Henry Murray, 227

Ovaherero tribe: mention of, 400 and 426

Pacaltsdorp: in 1813 the London missionary society stations an agent at this place, 210

Paper currency: particulars concerning, 2, 99, 123, 124, 185, and 341; in June 1825 the paper rixdollar is declared by the government to be

only of the value of one shilling and six pence, 341; the paper in circulation is partly redeemed at that rate with British silver and copper coin, 344; which occasions very heavy losses to many people, 343; the residue is replaced by notes on which the value is marked in pounds, shillings, and pence, and which are declared redeemable by drafts on the imperial treasury, 344

Paris evangelical society: in 1829 commences mission work in South Africa, 408

Parker, William: in 1820 brings a party of Irish settlers to the Cape, 291 and 292; proceedings of, 294

Pato, chief of the Gunukwebe clan: in 1812 succeeds his father Cūngwa, 195; and with his clan retires from the Zuurveld, 195; in the war of 1819 takes a very active part against the Cape Colony, 277

Pearls: note on those found on the coast near the mouth of the Breede river, 250

Pellissier, Rev. Jean Pierre, of the Paris evangelical society: in 1829 arrives in South Africa and proceeds to the station at Mosega, 408; in 1830 is obliged by the advance of Moselekatse to abandon Mosega, and with his colleagues founds the station Motito, ib; in 1833 with some fugitives from the north moves to the bank of the Orange river and founds the mission station Bethulie, 410

Perceval, Dudley Montagu: in January 1828 becomes auditor-general of the Cape Colony and clerk of the council, 434

Persians in East Africa: mention of, 400

Philip, Rev. Dr. John: particulars concerning the life and conduct of, 443 *et seq.*; character of his book *Researches in South Africa*, 440, 446, and 448; he is prosecuted by a government official for libel, and is cast in heavy damages, 448 and 449; but is regarded by the missionary party in England as a martyr, 449; further particulars concerning, 408 and 410

Plampin, Rear Admiral Sir Robert: from June 1817 to July 1820 commands on the Cape station, 242

Plasket, Sir Richard: in November 1824 becomes secretary to government in the Cape Colony, 354

Platberg mission station: in December 1833 is founded by the Wesleyan society near the Caledon river, 421

Pondoland: in July 1828 is laid waste by Tshaka, 394

Pondo tribe: mention of, 426; they exterminate the Amakwabi under Qeto, 391

Popham, Commodore Home: in 1805 is sent with a powerful fleet to convey an army from Ireland for the conquest of the Cape Colony, 138; and on the 4th of January 1806 arrives in Table Bay, 139; in April 1806 with his whole squadron leaves the Cape to seize the Spanish settlements on the river La Plata, 158

Port Beaufort: in 1816 a coasting trade is commenced with Table Bay from, 250

Port Elizabeth: in June 1820 is named after the deceased wife of Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, 297; in February 1825 is provided with a resident magistrate, 332; in July 1826 a custom house is established, 332

Port Frances: on the 9th of November 1821 is first entered by a vessel, 332; in February 1825 is so named in honour of the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, 331; at the same time a magistrate is stationed there, 331; in July 1826 a custom house is established, 332; in January 1828 the magistracy is abolished, 433

Postal arrangements: in 1798 the first post office in the Cape Colony is opened, but only for ocean mails, 34; in 1805 an inland post is first established, 127; improvements are made by General Baird in the postal system, 157; rates of ocean postage in 1815, 222

Preneuse, French frigate: on the 20th of September 1799 attacks two English ships in Algoa Bay, but is beaten off, 57

Pringle, Rear Admiral Thomas: in November 1796 assumes command of the fleet on the Cape station, 22; in March 1798 is succeeded by Sir Hugh Christian, 41

Pringle, Thomas: in 1820 brings a party of Scotch settlers to the Cape, and is located at Glen Lynden, 292; particulars concerning his life in Capetown, 361

Prinsloo, Hendrik, son of Marthinus: is one of the leaders of the insurrection of 1815, 233; at an early stage of the revolt is arrested and imprisoned at a military post, 233; is sentenced to death by a commission of the high court of justice, 238; and on the 9th of March 1816 is executed at Van Aardt's post on the Fish river, 239

Prinsloo, Marthinus: in February 1796 is elected head of the nationals of Graaff-Reinet, with the title of protector of the voice of the people, 7; in January 1799 is the leader of a party of farmers who take up arms against the English authorities, 45; in April surrenders to the British troops, 48; in September 1800 is put upon his trial, and is sentenced to death, 63; the execution of the sentence is suspended by the governor, 64; and in March 1803 he is released, 103; takes no part in the Slachter's Nek rebellion, nevertheless in 1816 the lease of his farm at the Boschberg is cancelled, and he is required to remove to the district of Tulbagh or the district of Swellendam, 240; with the others banished at the same time from the eastern frontier he retires to the Gouph, 240

Printing press: particulars concerning the publication in South Africa of the first magazine and the first newspaper other than the *Government Gazette*, 356

Private fund of the orphan chamber: particulars concerning the, 318

Prize money: particulars concerning, 152

Prize negroes: after the suppression of the slave trade are brought into the Cape Colony by British cruisers, 166
Prudente, French frigate: on the 9th of February 1799 is captured by the *Dædalus*, 56
Public meetings for the discussion of political matters: on the 24th of May 1822 are prohibited by a proclamation of Lord Charles Somerset, 315

Qeto, chief of the Amakwabi: career of, 391
Quitrent, perpetual: in 1813 this system of land tenure is introduced in the Cape Colony, 205

Rattlesnake, sloop of war: on the 20th of September 1799 makes a gallant defence against a French frigate, 56
Rattray, James: in July 1822 becomes teacher of the high school at Tulbagh, 311
Read, Rev. James: is one of the founders of Bethelsdorp, 104; is the author of charges against colonists that led to the notorious second circuit, 200
van Reenen, Sebastiaan Valentyn: in 1803 receives the appointment of collector of land revenue, 103
Reid, Joseph: in August 1823 becomes teacher of the high school at Paarl, 312
Reid, Rev. Thomas: in March 1836 becomes first resident clergyman of Colesberg, 345
Religious equality: in 1804 is established for persons of all creeds in the Cape Colony, 119
Resident magistrates: on the 1st of January 1828 take the place of landdrosts, 432; powers of, ib.
Revenue of the Cape Colony: in 1796, 27; 1797 to 1802, 36; 1803 to 1806, 110
Rhenius, Johan Isaac: on the 10th of October 1795 becomes receiver and treasurer general, 2
van der Riet, J. W.: on the 10th of September 1819 is appointed landdrost of George in succession to Mr. Van Kervel, who retires; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of Uitenhage and George, 432
van der Riet, Ryno Johannes: in November 1795 becomes landdrost of Stellenbosch, 3; in July 1812 is appointed sequestrator, 211
Rivers, Harry: in December 1821 becomes landdrost of Albany, 314; in January 1825 is transferred to Swellendam, 331; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of Swellendam, 432
Robertson, William: in July 1822 arrives from Scotland, and is appointed teacher of the free school at Graaff-Reinet, 311; afterwards enters the ministry and in November 1831 becomes first resident clergyman of the Dutch reformed church at Clanwilliam, 347

Rodriguez, island of: in July 1809 is taken possession of by British forces, 181

Rolland, Rev. Samuel, of the Paris evangelical society: in 1829 endeavours to form a mission station with the Bahurutsi at Mosega, 408; in 1830 is obliged by the advance of Moselekatse to abandon Mosega, and with his colleagues founds the station Motito, ib.

Roman catholic worship: in 1805 is first publicly performed in the Cape Colony, 120; in 1806 the clergymen are obliged to leave; in January 1820 is again conducted in Capetown, 306 and 307; ordinance of January 1830 concerning, 307

Ross, Hercules: on the 1st of October 1795 becomes acting secretary to government, 1

Royal African corps: in July 1817 arrives, 267; as there is an intention to disband this regiment, in June 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin attempts to form a settlement with part of it in the territory between the Beka and Fish rivers, 301; but the settlers are obliged to abandon that territory, 315; see French Hoek pass

Russell, William: terrible fate of a party of Scotch emigrants under the leadership of, 298

van Ryneveld, Daniel Johannes: on the 21st of April 1814 is appointed landdrost of Stellenbosch; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of Stellenbosch, 432

van Ryneveld, Jan: on the 25th of March 1825 is appointed deputy landdrost of Clanwilliam in succession to Captain Walter Synnot, who resigns; in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Clanwilliam, 433

van Ryneveld, Willem Cornelis: on the 17th of April 1818 is appointed deputy landdrost of Caledon; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of Graaff-Reinet and Beaufort, 432

van Ryneveld, Willem Stephanus: retains the office of fiscal after the English conquest in 1795, 2; on the 11th of January 1806 becomes fiscal again, 147 and 154; in March 1809 becomes president of the high court of justice, 199; in August 1812 dies, 201

Saint George's church in Simonstown: in April 1814 is opened for use, 185; in July 1822 is destroyed in a great storm, 348

St. Helena, island of: during the captivity of the emperor Napoleon provides an excellent market for Cape produce, 312

Salaries of civil servants: from 1808 to 1828, 228; in January 1828 are greatly reduced, 435

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Sauer, Mr. John: has a narrow escape from the Matabele in Betshuanaland, 417

Sceptre, British ship of war: in November 1799 is wrecked in Table Bay, 61

Scheme of the commissioners of inquiry, adopted by the ministry of the earl of Liverpool, for dividing the Cape Colony into two provinces nearly independent of each other, 339; it is abandoned by the ministry of Mr. Canning, 340

Scholtz, Rev. J.: arrives from Europe, and in February 1811 becomes clergyman of Zwartland's church, 209

Schönnberg, Valentinus Alexius: on the 26th of March 1819 is appointed landdrost of Swellendam

Schools: in 1804 an unsuccessful effort is made by the government to establish unsectarian schools in the colony, 121; during the government of Sir John Cradock the schools are increased in number and in efficiency, 207; in 1822 high class free schools are established in the principal colonial villages, 311; statistics of schools in 1825, 350

Schutz, Rev. Jan Augustus: in September 1803 arrives in South Africa and becomes clergyman of Swellendam, 120; in September 1813 is suspended from duty and removed from Swellendam, 209

Scully, Rev. P.: in January 1820 is stationed in Capetown as Roman catholic clergyman, 307

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Senzangakona, Zulu chief: mention of, 374

Sephton, Hezekiah: in 1820 brings a party of British settlers to the Cape, 291; further particulars, 300

Serrurier, Rev. Jan Pieter: in June 1804 retires on a pension, 120; on the 26th of September 1815 delivers his last public address on the occasion of the opening of the orphan asylum, 226

Serrurier, J. P.: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Simonstown, 433

Settlement of the territory between the Fish and Koonap rivers: particulars concerning, 335

Shaw, Rev. Barnabas: in 1816 forms a mission station at Kamiesberg in connection with the Wesleyan society, 259

Shaw, Rev. William, of the Wesleyan society: comes to South Africa in 1820 as a clergyman with a party of British settlers, 291; in 1823 founds the mission station Wesleyville with the Gunukwebes, 349

Ships that put into Table Bay: from 1796 to 1799, 36

Ships of war on the Cape station: particulars concerning, 22, 37, 41, 43, 63, 96, 159, 180, 182, 184, and 213

Shipwrecks in Table Bay: in November 1799 the British ship of war *Sceptre* is lost, when nearly three hundred men perish, 61; at the same time a Danish man of war and several merchant ships are lost, 61; in November 1805 three American ships and a French frigate

are driven on shore in a violent gale, 135; in July 1822 eight vessels are lost in a great storm, 321

Sikonyela, chief of the Batlokua: is circumcised in 1821 when he is about sixteen or seventeen years of age, 381; notifies that he has become a man by the murder of a Hlubi refugee named Motsholi, ib.; and by so doing draws an army of avengers into the country west of the Drakensberg, ib.; takes part in devastating the country along the Caledon, 385; after the retirement of the invading hordes collects various fragments of mountain tribes together, who take the name Batlokua, and settle along the upper Caledon, 403

Simon's Bay: after 1814 is the headquarters of the British squadron on the Cape station, 213

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Slave insurrection: particulars of a petty insurrection in 1808 of slaves in the Cape district, 164

Slave lodge in Capetown: after 1810 is gradually converted into public offices, 163

Slavery among the Betshuana: particulars concerning, 134

Small-pox: in 1807 there are three mild cases in Capetown, and from March to September 1812 there is an outbreak which causes great alarm, but which does not occasion very many deaths, 198

Smith, Dr. Andrew: in 1823 founds in Capetown a museum of specimens of South African animals, 320; which falls into decay after he leaves the colony, 320

Smith, Rev. Alexander: in July 1823 arrives from Scotland, and is appointed clergyman of Uitenhage, 310

Smyth, Captain J. Carmichael: in January 1806 becomes acting secretary to government, 154

Somerset East, district of: in March 1825 is created, 334

Somerset East, village of: in April 1825 is founded, 334; in January 1826 is first provided with a clergyman, 310

Somerset Farm at the Boschberg: in 1814 is established, 221; in 1817 becomes a commissariat depôt, 221; in March 1825 the establishment is broken up, 334

Somerset, Lady, first wife of Lord Charles Somerset: in September 1815 dies in Capetown, and is buried under the pavement of the old church, 220

Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry: in 1820 quarrels with Sir Rufane Donkin, 308; on the 28th of December 1821 is appointed resident at Simonstown in succession to Mr. Jan Hendrik Brand; in October

1823 succeeds to the command of the Cape regiment, 326; in 1828 with a mixed force of soldiers and burghers goes to the assistance of the Xosas and Tembus against the Amangwane, 394; and on the 27th of August in an engagement utterly breaks the power of the marauding tribe, ib.

Somerset, Lord Charles: on the 6th of April 1814 becomes governor of the Cape Colony, 215; on the 13th of January 1820 sails for England on leave of absence, 260; on the 30th of November 1821 reaches the colony again and resumes the government, 308; by his arbitrary conduct gives rise to much discontent, 350; burdens the colony with a very expensive establishment, 350; after 1821 does not give such satisfaction to the secretary of state as before that time, 351; his conduct occupies a good deal of attention in the house of commons, 352; he is recalled to England by the secretary of state to give explanations concerning various matters, 365; on the 5th of March 1826 he leaves the colony, 365; in April 1827 resigns his situation as governor, 366; the charges of tyranny against him are therefore not pressed in the house of commons, 366; on the 21st of February 1831 he dies at Brighton, 367

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Sotshangana, Bantu chief: flees from Tshaka and after defeating the Angoni commits awful ravages among the tribes between Delagoa Bay and the lower Zambesi, 379; career of, 425

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Spyker, Rev. J.: in June 1817 is transferred to Swellendam, 256; in July 1822 becomes the first resident clergyman of Somerset West, 256

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Steyn, Hermanus: in November 1795 transfers to Mr. Faure the office of landdrost of Swellendam, 4

Stockenstrom, Andries, senior: occupies various positions in the service of the Dutch East India Company, 5; in March 1796 becomes secretary of Swellendam, 5; in February 1804 becomes landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, 113; in December 1811 is murdered by Xosas, 194

Stockenstrom, Andries, junior (subsequently Sir Andries): is an ensign in the Cape regiment, 197; in July 1812 is appointed deputy landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, and is stationed at Cradock, 197; in May 1815 becomes landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, 230; in 1819 commands one of the divisions of the force that operates against Ndlambe, 279; recommends the extension of the colony northward, 332; with Lieutenant Bonamy in 1822 to 1824 marks off a new boundary of the colony on the north and the east, 333; in January 1828 is appointed commissioner-general for the eastern province, 432; and a member of the council of advice, 434

Stoll, Joachim Willem: on the 27th of August 1814 is appointed landdrost of the Cape district

Stopford, Rear Admiral Robert: on the 5th of January 1811 assumes command on the Cape station, 184; on the 7th of February 1813 transfers the command to Rear Admiral Tyler, 213

Storm in July 1822: causes great damage in the western districts, 320

Stormberg Spruit: in 1822 is made the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony, 333

Sturt, Rev. George: in September 1819 becomes chaplain at Simonstown, 257

Stuurman, David: succeeds his brother Klaas as captain of a Hottentot clan, and in 1804 has a location on the Gamtoos river assigned to him, 105; owing to his hostile conduct, in 1810 he is sentenced to imprisonment for life, and the location on the Gamtoos river is confiscated, 177

le Sueur, Jacobus Johannes: in January 1828 is appointed resident magistrate of Worcester, 433

Supreme court of the Cape Colony: in 1828 is first established, 431

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Synod of the Dutch reformed church in the Cape Colony: in November 1824 meets for the first time in Capetown, 344; particulars of the second meeting in November 1826, 347

Synnot, Captain Walter: in 1820 brings a party of Irish settlers to the Cape, 292; and is located at Clanwilliam, 294; subsequent movements of the party, 295

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Tait, Peter: in 1818 and 1819 introduces a few Scotch labourers as immigrants, 287

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Tembu tribe: in 1809 is found by Colonel Collins living near the sea between the Bashee and Umtata rivers, except one small clan, under a captain named Tshatshu, that occupied a kraal east of the Tsomo, 173; condition during the early years of the nineteenth century, 388 and 389; genealogical table of the chiefs, 389

Thaba Ntshu: in December 1833 becomes a Barolong settlement and a Wesleyan mission station, 418

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Theopolis, station of the London missionary society: in 1814 is founded, 211; is twice unsuccessfully attacked in the fifth Kaffir war, 276; investigation of Dr. Philip's charge against the government concerning taking land from, 440

Third Kaffir war: in March 1799 Ndlambe, who has been for some time a prisoner at Gaika's kraal, makes his escape, and with a large body of followers crosses the Fish river and invades the colony, 49; he is joined by all the clans that since 1793 have been living in the Zuurveld, the Gunukwebe only excepted, 49; the farmers flee before the invaders, some of them being obliged to abandon all their property, 50; the Gunukwebe clan, without allying itself with Ndlambe, attacks a column of British troops on the march towards Algoa Bay, 50; afterwards attacks General Vandeleur's camp, but is repulsed with heavy loss, 51; cuts off and massacres a detachment under Lieutenant Chumney, 51; the insurgent Hottentots under Klaas Stuurman and other leaders now join the Xosas, 51; in June two large burgher commandos take the field, 51; but become dispirited by being kept waiting while the authorities carry on long

and fruitless negotiations with the invaders, 52; the united Xosas and Hottentots now overrun and pillage nearly the whole district of Graaff-Reinet, 52; in July a band ravages Longkloof and murders fifteen white people, 52; in September an arrangement is made by the government with the Xosas and Hottentots, under which the Zuurveld is abandoned to the invaders, who promise not to trespass beyond it, 54; after this arrangement the district of Graaff-Reinet remains in a very wretched state, 76; the Hottentots continue to roam about and plunder such colonists as attempt to carry on farming, 81; early in 1802 a commando is called out to punish them, 81; but so few men appear that the operations undertaken are not successful, 81; in May a much larger number of burghers are called out, 83; very favourable terms are offered to Klaas Stuurman, but he declines them, 83; he and his Xosa allies are then attacked by a burgher force under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, 84; and for several weeks success attends the colonists, 84; on the 8th of August, however, Commandant Tjaart van der Walt is killed in battle, 84; and immediately afterwards the burghers disperse in great confusion, 84; General Dundas then proceeds to the frontier, taking Mr. H. Maynier with him, 84; a few petty Hottentot captains are induced by Mr. Maynier to lay down their arms, but most of the marauders remain defiant, 85; the combined Xosas and Hottentots ravage the country as far west as Kaaiman's river, near the present village of George, 85; in January 1803 a large burgher force takes the field, but as the Hottentots and Xosas are quarrelling about a division of the spoil, they now profess to desire peace with the white people, 86; and on the 20th of February a general cessation of hostilities is agreed to, 86

Thom, Rev. Dr. George: in November 1818 leaves the service of the London missionary society, and is appointed clergyman at Caledon, 257; in 1821 returns to Scotland on leave of absence, and is entrusted with the duty of engaging clergymen and schoolmasters for the Cape Colony, 310; in which he is successful, 310

Thomson, Rev. William Ritchie: in November 1821 commences mission work as a government agent in the Tyumie valley, 310; afterwards becomes a clergyman of the Dutch reformed church; on the 4th of May 1891 dies, 310

Trappes, Captain Charles: in April 1819 is second in command in Grahamstown, 277; in May 1820 becomes provisional magistrate at Bathurst, 297; in May 1821 is relieved of duty, but in January 1822 is appointed landdrost of Tulbagh, 299; in January 1828 becomes civil commissioner of Worcester, 432

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Truter, Jan Andries (afterwards Sir John): in October 1803 is appointed secretary to the council, 128; on the 4th of March 1809 becomes fiscal; in August 1812 becomes chief justice, 201; on the establishment of the supreme court in January 1828 retires from the office of chief justice, but is appointed a member of the council of advice, 434

Truter, Pieter Jan: in 1801 visits the Batlapin country, 87 *et seq.*

Tshaka, son of an inferior wife of Senzangakona, chief of the Zulu tribe: about the year 1783 is born, 374; the Zulus are at the time vassals of the Abatetwa, ib.; he grows up to be a handsome and exceedingly agile youth, ib.; excites the jealousy of his father, and is obliged to flee for his life, 375; takes refuge with Dingiswayo, chief of the Abatetwa, ib.; in whose army he becomes a soldier, 376; and owing to his courage and address soon raises himself to a position of command, ib.; upon the death of his father Senzangakona he is appointed chief of the Zulus by Dingiswayo, 377; and upon Dingiswayo's death is raised by the army to supreme power, ib.; he then conceives schemes of conquest on a vast scale, ib.; organises a great army, which he subjects to severe discipline, ib.; as a weapon of offence adds to the assagai a short-handled long-bladed spear formed to cut or to stab, ib.; brings the various regiments under the most perfect system of obedience, 378; devises a terribly formidable method of attack, 377; then carries on a series of wars of extermination, 379; and though he governs with ferocious cruelty gains the devoted attachment of his people through their pride of military fame, 378; in July 1828 sends an army westward, which marches to within eighteen miles of the Bashee, 393; accompanies the army himself as far as the Umzimkulu river, where he fixes his head quarters, 394; lays waste the Pondo country, ib.; then withdraws his army from Tembuland, and returns home, ib.; further mention of, 424

Tshatshu, chief of a Tembu clan: in 1809 is found by Colonel Collins to have wandered away from the Tembu country proper, and to have settled with his people on the eastern bank of the Tsomo, 173

Tulbagh, district of: in July 1804 a portion of the district of Stellenbosch is cut off by proclamation of Commissioner-General De Mist, 114; to the tract of land thus cut off General Janssens gives the name Tulbagh, 115; in August a landdrost is appointed to the new district, 115; in September a farm adjoining Roodezand's church is fixed upon as the site of the drostdy, 115; in February 1808 a portion of Stellenbosch is cut off and added to it, 166; in

November 1822 it is renamed by Lord Charles Somerset the district of Worcester, 322

Tijdschrift, het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch: in April 1824 the first number of this magazine appears, 361

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Uitenhage, district of: in February 1804 a portion of the old district of Graaff-Reinet is cut off by proclamation of Commissioner-General De Mist, 113; in April the name Uitenhage is given by Governor Janssens to the tract of land thus cut off, and a landdrost is appointed to it, 113; in October a portion of the old district of Swellendam is cut off and added to Uitenhage, 114

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Unandi, mother of Tshaka, mention of, 374

Vanderkemp, Dr. J. T.: in March 1799 arrives in South Africa as an agent of the London missionary society, 59; attempts to form a station near the kraal of the Xosa chief Gaika, 60; but not succeeding in this, he removes to Graaff-Reinet, 60; towards the close of 1801 with a party of Hottentots he proceeds from Graaff-Reinet to a farm near Algoa Bay, where he is assisted by the government to form a temporary station, 81; in 1803 a tract of land is selected for a mission station, which the government grants to the London society, and to which Dr. Vanderkemp gives the name Bethelsdorp, 104; in January 1812 he dies, 201

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Volontaire, French frigate: in March 1806 is captured in Table Bay, 155

Vos, Rev. Michiel Christiaan: in April 1802 proceeds to Europe, 82; returns from Europe, and in March 1810 is stationed at Zwartland's church, 209; in April 1811 assumes duty as first clergyman of Caledon, 169; in May 1818 retires on account of illness and old age, 257

Vusani, paramount chief of the Tembu tribe: in 1828 assists in destroying the Amangwane who have devastated his country, 394; further mention of, 390

Walfish Bay: in December 1795 is taken possession of for Great Britain, 23; note upon the name of, 23
van der Walt, Tjaart: in February 1802 commands in the operations against Hottentot marauders, 81; in an engagement on the 13th of February loses one of his sons, 81; in June 1802 is commandant-general of the large force called out, 83; but on the 8th of August is killed in battle, 84
Waterboer, Andries, Griqua captain: obliges the Barolong chief Sifunelo to pay six hundred oxen for a theft committed by Molitsane's Bataung, 413; but under pressure from the colonial government restores the cattle to their owners, ib.; in June 1823 assists to defeat the Mantati horde, 384; in 1832 assists a commando under Mr. W. C. van Ryneveld, civil commissioner of Graaff-Reinet, against the robber captain Stuurman
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Wylde, Sir John: on the 1st of January 1828 becomes chief justice in the newly established supreme court, 431

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